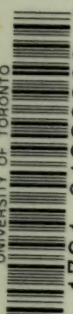


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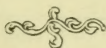
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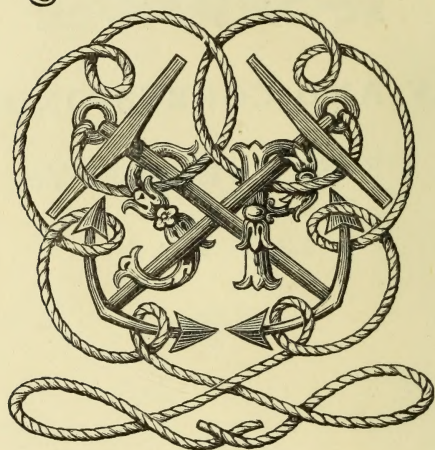
I



DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF SAMUEL PEPYS,
ESQ., F.R.S.



cujusque is est
Mens *quisque*





SAMUEL PEPYS.

DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

amuel epys,

ESQ., F.R.S.

FROM HIS MS. CYPHER IN THE PEPYSIAN
LIBRARY, WITH A LIFE AND
NOTES BY

RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

DECIPHERED, WITH ADDITIONAL

NOTES, BY

REV. MYNORS BRIGHT, M.A.,

PRESIDENT AND SENIOR FELLOW OF MAGDALENE
COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

*WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS FROM THE COLLECTION
IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY, PRINTED IN
PERMANENT WOODBURYTYPE.*

VOL. I.

LONDON:

BICKERS AND SON, 1, LEICESTER SQUARE.

1875.

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Milverton. Let us take five or six of the men who are best known to the world. Now they shall not be saints or martyrs; or men especially renowned for goodness of any kind. I will choose them only from the fact that they happen to be well known to us—not their lives particularly, but themselves. The men I will choose are Horace, Dante, Montaigne, Pepys, Dr. Johnson, and Rousseau.

Ellesmere. A queer collection. How they would have quarrelled!

Milverton. I don't know about that. All I contend for is, that there is much to admire and like in each of these men, however great their faults may have been.

Sir Arthur. Pepys?

Ellesmere. The best chosen of all. Now, there is a book I have read—his Diary—over and over again. I give Milverton great credit for choosing him. He does not pretend to be a mass of virtue, but, after all, how much good and worth there is in the fellow. I look upon that Diary of his as the truest book ever written. Even when he condescends to conformity, you can see that he does not take in himself, or wish to take in any reader, if that Diary was ever intended to be read. One day he goes in a barge with the King and the Duke of York. “Good Lord!” he says, “what poor stuff they did talk.” Then recollecting that, as an official man, he must not, even to himself, run down his official superiors, he adds, “But God be praised, they are both of them princes of marvellous nobleness and spirit.”

HELPS' *Social Pressure*, pp. 162, 163.

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1875

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

WHEN I was obliged three or four years ago, owing to ill health, to leave Cambridge, a college friend said to me, "You may as well decipher afresh Pepys' Diary." I followed his suggestion, and I have deciphered the original MS. to the best of my ability. I have twice carefully gone over every word in the original short-hand. I have added about one third of matter never yet published, and at the end of each volume I have made a list of the principal mistakes in the former editions, so that any one who chooses to take the trouble may compare the corrections with the mistakes, and form his own opinion upon them.

I have not been able to avail myself of Lord Braybrooke's additional notes in the editions of 1848 and 1854, as the copyright of those editions has not yet expired. I have, however, endeavoured, as far as I can, to supply the deficiency by notes of my own, especially in explanation of any old custom or obsolete word. I have left Lord Braybrooke's

notes to the original edition unaltered, except in a few cases where they were unnecessary, owing to the correction of mistakes in the Diary; and to my own additional notes I have affixed my initials.

“*Mr. Pips his Diary*,” immortalized by Thackeray, is so well known and his name is now such a “household word,” that I think I have no need to apologize for giving the public a fuller account of his domestic affairs. I have therefore published the whole of the Diary, with the exception of such parts as I thought would be tedious to the reader, or that are unfit for publication. To some I may appear to have put in too much unimportant matter, others may think that I should have published the whole of the Diary. To all, however, who may read this edition and become acquainted with most of Pepys’ most secret thoughts, which he never intended should be known,¹ I will venture to say :

“Be to his virtues very kind,
Be to his faults a little blind.”

He was a passionate and jealous, but an affectionate husband. He and his wife, who had “a temper of her own,” were continually quarrelling, but, with the exception of one disastrous occasion, they soon made up their domestic squabbles and “friends again as we always are.” He was a good son, and he was on the whole a kind and generous brother.

It is impossible for any one who has not read the *entire* Diary fully to appreciate Pepys’ industry and diligence in his office of Secretary to the Admiralty,

¹ See last page of the Diary. (M. B.)

but it would have been tedious to the reader if I had copied from the Diary the account of his daily work at the office, and it is no wonder after nine years' constant labour and writing from early in the morning till late at night that his eyes failed him, and that he was obliged for a time to give up his work. I felt quite grieved for him when I compared the cipher in the sixth and last volume with the beautifully written and clear cipher in the preceding volumes.

I will only add the character given of Pepys by his intimate friend Evelyn in his Diary, May 26th, 1703 :—

“ This day died Mr. Samuel Pepys, a very worthy, industrious, and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy, in which he had passed through all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all which he performed with great integrity. When King James II. went out of England, he laid down his office and would serve no more, but withdrawing himself from all public affairs, he lived at Clapham with his partner, Mr. Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble house and sweet place, where he enjoyed the fruit of his labours in great prosperity. He was universally beloved, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men, of whom he had the conversation. His library and collection of other curiosities were of the most considerable, the models of ships especially. Besides what he published of an account of the navy, as he found and left it, he

had for divers years under his hand the history of the navy, or Navaliam, as he called it; but how far advanced and what will follow of his is left, I suppose, to his sister's son, Mr. Jackson, a young gentleman whom Mr. Pepys had educated in all sorts of useful learning, sending him to travel abroad, from whence he returned with extraordinary accomplishments and worthy to be his heir. Mr. Pepys had been for near forty years so much my particular friend, that Mr. Jackson sent me complete mourning, desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies; but my indisposition hindered me from doing him this last office."

MYNORS BRIGHT.

23, Sussex Place,
Regent's Park.



The condition of the State was thus - viz. The Pump after being disturbed by my Lord Lambert, was lately returned to sit again. The Officers of the Army all forced to yield — Lanson, his still on the River, & Monk, is with his Army in Scotland.

I am (I thank God) restored to a perfect degree of Health, at least as perfect as at this time of Day, I can ever expect to be, & (I thank God) it is a good One

My whole family also, with y^r whole kind of y^r
friends talking in my way, are well, & on all opportunities
ever go. I wish I could remember. For I do hope you. I am.

100.)

London, Bickers & Son, Leicester Square, 1895.



THE LIFE OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

SAMUEL PEPYS, the author of the Diary, was descended from a younger branch of the ancient family of Pepys, who are represented to have settled at Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, early in the 16th century.¹

His father, John Pepys, was a citizen of London, where he followed the trade of a tailor about the year 1660; he soon afterwards retired to Brampton, in Huntingdonshire, at which place he had inherited a small property² from an elder brother, and ended his days there in 1680. Of his mother, I can only learn that her name was Margaret, and that she died in 1666-7, having had issue six sons and five daughters, of which number, three only of the former, and one of the latter, were living in 1659.

Samuel, the eldest surviving son, was born February 23, 1632, whether at Brampton or in London I have no means of ascertaining; both places being named with equal confidence by his different

¹ They are said, in the History of Norfolk, to have originally been seated at Diss in that county.

² The rental was about £40 per annum.

biographers. From allusions in the Diary, we learn that he passed his boyish days in or near the Metropolis,¹ and was educated at St. Paul's School, where he probably continued till 1650, early in which year his name occurs as sizar on the boards of Trinity College, Cambridge. Previously, however, to his going to reside in that University, March 5th, 1650-1, he had removed to Magdalene College, where he was elected into one of Mr. Spendluffe's scholarships the next month; and in 1651, preferred to one on Dr. Smith's foundation.²

¹ He went first to school at Huntingdon. See Diary, March 15, 1660: "I met Tom Alcock, one that went to school with me at Huntingdon, but I had not seen him these sixteen years." (M. B.)

² The only notices that I have been able to gather from the Entry and Register-books of Magdalene College are the following:—

"Oct. 1. 1650.

"* Samuel Peapys filius Johannis Peapys civis Londinensis, annos natus — è scholâ Paulinâ admissus est Sizator Tutore D^{no} Morland.

"* Mem, eū prius admissū fuisse in Aulâ Trin: 21 die Junij ejusdem aīi, ut patet ex testif M^{ri} Twells ibidem Socio, dat. Mar: 4. 1650, quo die etiā in ordinē transijt Pensionariorum apud nos."

"Aprilis 3^o. 1651.

"Ego Samuel Pepys admissus fui in discipulum hujus Collegij pro Magistro Spenluff."

"Octob. 4^o. 1653.

"Ego Samuel Pepys electus fui et admissus in discipulum hujus Collegij pro Magistro Joanne Smyth."

These entries show that he was a fair scholar and a "reading man." *But alas!* from the Registrar's book:—

"October 21, 1653. Memorandum: that Peapys and Hind were solemnly admonished by myself and Mr. Hill, for having been scandalously overserved with drink y^e night before. This was done in the presence of all the Fellows then resident in Mr. Hill's chamber. JOHN WOOD, Registrar."

We read in the Diary, May, 1668, "Walked to Magdalen College and there into the butterys, as a stranger, and there drank my bellyfull of their beer, which pleased me, as the best I ever drank."

I should be glad, if I could, to have a gossip with him and hear

How long Mr. Pepys continued at Cambridge, or what were his academical pursuits, we are not informed; but in October, 1655, he married Elizabeth St. Michel, a native of Somersetshire, whose father is described as having been of a good family; and her mother was descended from the Cliffords of Cumberland. As Mrs. Pepys had only just quitted the convent in which she was educated, at the early age of fifteen,¹ and brought her husband no fortune, it is unnecessary to say more upon the imprudence of the alliance; but no doubt the youthful pair were glad to find an asylum in the family of Mr. Pepys's Cousin, Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards created Earl of Sandwich, to whose good offices at this period, and continued friendship, he owed and gratefully acknowledged his subsequent advancement. Of the exact situation which he filled during his residence in the house of his powerful relative, no mention is made. We only know that after having been successfully cut for the stone (the anniversary of which operation he was in the habit of afterwards celebrating with a becoming sense of the Divine

his opinion of the beer now. I am afraid in those days that Magdalene College did not enjoy the reputation of a "tea-drinking" college, which it afterwards had at the beginning of this century. The next entry in the Registrar's book is:—

"September 9th, 1654.

"Memorandum. Y^e Sir White (*his title as B. A.*) and Anderson being both taken drunke, should have received admonition for it, but being contumacious and refusing to come into y^e Hall, they had both their names forthwith cut out of y^e tables, and Sir White was finally expelled, though Anderson, upon his reading a recantation, had his name put in again. J. PEACHELLE, Registr." (M. B.)

¹ Evelyn's mother was married when she was fifteen (*Evelyn, Diary*, 8vo. 1827, vol. i. p. 11), and Evelyn married his own wife when she was fourteen (*Diary*, i. p. xxxvi.); Samuel Pepys married in 1655 "a girl of fifteen." Buckle, *Common Place Book*. (M. B.)

mercy extended to him), he accompanied Sir Edward upon his expedition to the Sound, in March, 1658, and at their return was employed as a clerk, under Sir George Downing, in some office in the Exchequer, connected with the pay of the Army.

About this period he began his Diary,¹ which is interesting in its outset, from the notices which it conveys of the opinions and reports prevailing at that important crisis; and shortly after becomes still more so, from his obtaining the appointment of Secretary to the two Generals of the Fleet, and his having thus the opportunity of detailing every occurrence that took place on board the *Naseby*, from the time of Sir Edward Montagu's sailing to bring home Charles II. to that Monarch's arrival at Dover. It was natural to suppose, that while his Patron, who had acted so conspicuous a part in bringing about the Restoration, was rewarded with an Earldom, and made Keeper of the Great Wardrobe and Clerk of the Privy Seal, Mr. Pepys would not long remain unemployed. Accordingly, we find him the following summer nominated Clerk of the Acts of the Navy; and he entered upon the duties of that Office early in June, 1660, at which time he resided in Seething-lane, in the parish of St. Olave, Hart-street. From this moment his natural talents for business, which were afterwards to become so useful to his country, seem to have developed themselves; and his zeal and industry soon acquired for him respect in the eyes of the other officers of his department, and the esteem of the Duke of York, with whom, as Lord High Admiral, he had almost daily intercourse.

It cannot be supposed, that in so licentious an age, when the love of pleasure was predominant to every

¹ The cipher employed by Pepys is *not* that known by the name of "Rich's System," but one composed by Shelton, a later edition of which, 1691, is in the Pepysian Library. (M. B.)

other consideration, Mr. Pepys should have been so completely absorbed by his official labours, as to take no interest in the scenes of dissipation which surrounded him. His first object, however, was to discharge his duty conscientiously; and when we observe the many hours which he devoted to the theatre, and to the pursuit of every sort of amusement, it is matter of astonishment how he could have found leisure to dispatch so much business, and to make copies of the voluminous Correspondence which passed through his hands. From the mass of these Papers still extant, it may be inferred, that he never lost sight of the public good, and took infinite pains to check the rapacity of the Contractors, by whom the naval stores were then supplied, and to establish such regulations in the Dock-yards as might be productive of order and economy. He was also most anxious for the promotion of the old-established Officers of the Navy, uniformly striving to counteract the superior influence of the Court favourites, which too often prevailed in that unprincipled Government over every claim of merit or service, and resisting to the utmost the infamous system of selling places, practised at that period, in every department of the State, in the most open and unblushing manner.

The Dutch war, which broke out in 1664, stimulated Mr. Pepys to still farther exertions, as all the naval energies of the nation were necessarily called into action; and during the Plague which occurred in the following year, when the Metropolis was deserted, and the service completely abandoned, the whole management of the concerns of the Navy devolved upon him, and he remained at his post, regardless of the dangers which environed him. "The sickness in general thickens round us, and particularly upon our neighbourhood," observes

Mr. Pepys, in writing to Sir W. Coventry at this juncture. "You, Sir, took your turn of the sword; I must not, therefore, grudge to take mine of the pestilence."

He was soon afterwards made Secretary to the Commissioners for managing the affairs of Tangier, and Surveyor-general of the Victualling Department; which last office he resigned when the peace was concluded.

During the fire of London, respecting which there are very curious details in the Diary, Mr. Pepys rendered the most essential service, by sending up the artificers from the Dock-yards, who adopted the plan of blowing up houses, and ultimately arrested the progress of the flames. In the spring of 1668, when De Ruyter's successful enterprise against Chatham, in the preceding year, became the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry, the Officers of the Navy Board naturally incurred the greatest share of the public indignation; they were accordingly summoned to the Bar of the House of Commons. Upon this occasion, the Clerk of the Acts undertook their defence, and, in a speech of three hours' duration, succeeded so well in proving that the blame neither rested with himself nor his Colleagues, that no farther proceedings were instituted against them.

The compliments which he received from so many different quarters upon this brilliant display of eloquence, could not fail to have been highly flattering to his feelings, and the particulars are too minutely detailed in the Diary to leave any doubt on the subject. Nevertheless, it seems unaccountable that the same individual, who in this one instance did himself so much credit, should never afterwards have risen to any distinction as a Parliamentary Speaker, though he sat for many years in the House of Commons, and occasionally took part in the

debates. In the summer of 1669, Mr. Pepys was obliged to discontinue his Diary, owing to the increasing weakness of his eyes, which had long been impaired by his incessant correspondence, and his habit of writing so much in short-hand ; but although he was at this period apprehensive of losing his sight, the disorder does not seem to have gained ground during the remainder of his life. Some relaxation, however, from the duties of his office appeared absolutely necessary, after nine years' uninterrupted application to business : Mr. Pepys accordingly memorialized the King for a few months' leave of absence, which being granted, he availed himself of the opportunity to make a tour through France and Holland, accompanied by his wife. Upon this excursion he often looks back with pleasure in his Correspondence ; and he appears, from one of his letters to Charles II., to have occupied himself while abroad, in making collections respecting the French and Dutch Navy ; so anxious was he at all times to improve his knowledge of nautical affairs, and to acquire useful information connected with his official employments.

Shortly after his return to England, he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who died at his house in Hart-street, leaving him no issue. She had been ill only a few days, but her delicate state of health is often mentioned in the Diary. Previously to her death, she received the Sacrament from Dr. Milles, the Rector of the Parish, with her husband ; thus, in her last moments, removing the doubts which he had long entertained, of her being disposed to embrace the Catholic Religion.

This melancholy event prevented Mr. Pepys from attending the Election at Aldborough in Suffolk, for which Borough he had been proposed as a Candidate, in lieu of Sir Robert Brookes, lately deceased ; and his friends, notwithstanding his absence, exerted them-

selves to the utmost to procure his election. His cause was also openly and warmly espoused by the Duke of York and Lord Henry Howard;¹ but, upon going to a Poll, all their efforts combined proved ineffectual, and the popular party prevailed. In January, 1673, however, Mr. Pepys was chosen Member for Castle Rising, on Sir Robert Paston's elevation to the Peerage; and his unsuccessful opponent, Mr. Offley, petitioning against the return, the Election was determined to be void by the Committee of Privileges. But the Parliament was prorogued the following month, without the House's coming to any decision on the subject, and Mr. Pepys was permitted to retain his seat.² The grounds upon which the

¹ Second son of Henry Earl of Arundel, in 1669 created Baron Howard of Castle Rising, and in 1672 advanced to the Earldom of Norwich. Upon the death of his elder brother Thomas, s. p. in 1677, he became the sixth Duke of Norfolk. He presented the Arundel Marbles to the University of Oxford. Ob. January, 1683-4.

² "The House then proceeding upon the debate touching the Election for Castle Rising, between Mr. Pepys and Mr. Offley, did, in the first place, take into consideration what related personally to Mr. Pepys. Information being given to the House that they had received an account from a person of quality, that he saw an Altar with a Crucifix upon it in the house of Mr. Pepys; Mr. Pepys, standing up in his place, did heartily and flatly deny that he ever had any Altar or Crucifix, or the image or picture of any Saint whatsoever in his house, from the top to the bottom of it; and the Members being called upon to name the person that gave them the information, they were unwilling to declare it, without the order of the House; which being made, they named the Earl of Shaftesbury; and the House being also informed that Sir J. Banks did likewise see the Altar, he was ordered to attend the Bar of the House, to declare what he knew of this matter. 'Ordered, that Sir William Coventry, Sir Thomas Meeres, and Mr. Garraway, do attend Lord Shaftesbury on the like occasion, and receive what information his Lordship can give on this matter.'—*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ix. p. 306.—'13 February. Sir W. Coventry reports that they attended the Earl of Shaftesbury, and received from him the account which they had put in writing. The Earl of Shaftesbury denieth that he ever saw an Altar in Mr.

Committee decided do not appear ; but the proceedings of the House on the subject, as entered on the Journals, are given in the note below. They exhibit a striking and most disgusting picture of the spirit of those times. It was charged against Pepys, that a crucifix had been seen in his house, from which it was inferred that he was "a Papist, or Popishly inclined ;" and this vague suspicion, not of a man's actions, but of his belief or inclinations, was deemed by the House the first subject to be inquired into in the adjudication of a controverted election. From the result, however, of this examination, neither the fact nor the inference received the smallest support. They had been grounded on the reported assertions of Sir John Banks and the Earl of Shaftesbury. Banks explicitly denied the whole. Shaftesbury's evidence I forbear to characterize : such as it is, the reader may see it in the note. Painful, indeed, is it to reflect to what lengths the bad passions which party violence inflames, could in those days carry a

Pepys's house or lodgings ; as to the Crucifix, he saith he hath some imperfect memory of seeing somewhat which he conceived to be a Crucifix. When his Lordship was asked the time, he said it was before the burning the Office of the Navy. Being asked concerning the manner, he said he could not remember whether it were painted or carved, or in what manner the thing was ; and that his memory was so very imperfect in it, that if he were upon his oath he could give no testimony.'—*Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 309.—
 ' 16 February. Sir John Banks was called in—The Speaker desired him to answer what acquaintance he hath with Mr. Pepys, and whether he used to have recourse to him to his house, and had ever seen there any Altar or Crucifix, and whether he knew of his being a Papist, or Popishly inclined. Sir J. Banks said that he had known and had been acquainted with Mr. Pepys several years, and had often visited him and conversed with him at the Navy Office, and at his house there, upon several occasions ; and that he never saw in his house there any Altar or Crucifix, and that he does not believe him to be a Papist, or that way inclined in the least, nor had any reason or ground to think or believe it.'—*Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 310."

man of Shaftesbury's rank, station, and abilities. We also collect from Cole's MSS. *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*,¹ that some years afterwards Shaftesbury, in his eagerness to fix the odium of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's self-murder upon the Roman Catholics, threatened the principal witness examined during that inquiry with the utmost rigour, in case she refused to say that Sir John Banks, Mr. Pepys, and Monsieur de Puy, a servant of the Duke of York's, had obliged her to depose to the fact of Godfrey's having destroyed himself.

A fact of the same character, but of a still deeper hue, is told by an unexceptionable witness. Burnet was among the warmest and ablest antagonists of the Church of Rome; and he was also, in his general opinions, an adherent of the same political party to which Shaftesbury belonged: but when he relates the detestable imposture of the Popish Plot, he bears against that great promoter of those proceedings an honest and memorable testimony. He is speaking of the prosecution of Staley, the first victim of those horrid perjuries. "When I heard," he says, "who the witnesses were, I thought I was bound to do what I could to stop it; so I sent both to the Lord Chancellor and to the Attorney General, to let them know what PROFLIGATE WRETCHES these witnesses were. Jones, the Attorney-General, took it ill of me that I should disparage the King's evidence." He then speaks of the clamour raised on this occasion against himself, and adds, "I had likewise observed to several persons of weight, how many incredible things there were in the evidence that was given. I wished they would make use of the heat the nation was in to secure us effectually from Popery: we saw certain evidence to carry us so far as to graft that

¹ In the British Museum.

upon it ;¹ but I wished they would not run too hastily to the taking men's lives away upon such testimonies. Lord Hollis had more temper than I expected from a man of his heat. Lord Halifax was of the same mind. But the Earl of Shaftesbury could not bear the discourse : he said, ' WE MUST SUPPORT THE EVIDENCE, and that all those who undermined the credit of the witnesses were to be looked on as PUBLIC ENEMIES.'"² This passage requires no comment. The charge against Pepys was in truth a heavy one,—that of hypocrisy and dissimulation in matters of religion : it is sufficiently refuted by this view of the principles and conduct of him who was the chief instigator, as well as the chief witness in the case ; but with respect to the religion of Pepys, these volumes supply conclusive information. He was educated in the pure and reformed faith of the Church of England. To that he adhered through life, and in that he died. In some of the earliest pages of his Diary, how interesting are the accounts of his attendance on the worship of that Church, when her rites were administered to a scattered flock by a few faithful and courageous men, who met for that purpose in secret and in danger, like the Fathers of the primitive Church under the tyranny of their heathen persecutors ! After the Restoration, the confidential servant of the Duke of York, and the Secretary of the Admiralty to Charles II. and James II., saw, undoubtedly, how much his temporal interests would be promoted by his conversion to that faith which both those Princes

¹ He here alludes, probably, to the projected exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, a measure for which abundant cause has been given. The only real Popish Plot was the plot of the King and his brother. They, and not the wretched victims of this persecution, had conspired with France to subvert the religion and liberties of a people, to whose ill-requested loyalty they had been so recently and so largely indebted.

² Burnet, "History of his own Time," 1678.

had embraced, and for the propagation of which the last of them, his immediate patron, manifested such a bigoted and fanatical enthusiasm. But there is no reason for believing that any such temptation ever entered into his mind; or, if it did, the reader will see, in the close of this Memoir, the most satisfactory proofs that it was steadily and successfully resisted.

In the summer of 1673, the Duke of York having resigned all his employments, upon the passing of the Test Act, his Majesty called Mr. Pepys into his own service, as Secretary for the affairs of the Navy, in which important station he gained additional credit; not, however, without once more exciting the envy and malice of his enemies, who lost no opportunity of revenging themselves upon the Duke of York, by directing their attacks against all his adherents. Accordingly, in the turbulent juncture of the Popish Plot, complaint having been made in the House of Commons of various miscarriages in the Navy, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances, in which Mr. Harbord, Member for Thetford, took the lead against Mr. Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane.¹ They were accused on the depositions of Colonel John Scott, and others, of sending secret particulars respecting the English Navy to the French Government, in order to assist in the design of dethroning the King, and extirpating the Protestant religion; and Mr. Pepys was again charged with being himself a Roman Catholic, and a great favourer of that party. They were committed to the Tower, under the Speaker's warrant, May 22nd, 1679. On the 2nd of June both prisoners were brought to the Bar of the King's Bench, when bail

¹ There is a pamphlet, which I never saw, called "Plain Truth, or a Private Discourse between (P)epys and (H)arbord, about the Navy," printed, I believe, in 1679.

being denied them, their Counsel pressed for a speedy trial, which the Attorney-General refused, upon the ground that he expected more evidence of their treasonable correspondence with France. They were then remanded to the Tower, and, after being brought up a second and third time, allowed to find security in 30,000*l.*; and though they subsequently appeared in Court four times more, the trial was always postponed upon the same plea. At length, on February 12th, they moved by Counsel to be discharged; and on the Attorney-General's stating that Scott now refused to acknowledge the truth of his original deposition, upon which the whole charge rested, the prisoners were relieved from their bail, and their motion was acceded to on the first day of the next Term, with the consent of the Law Officers of the Crown.

It is impossible to recur to these unjust and arbitrary proceedings without feelings of disgust; but the accusation being so serious, it seems due to the characters of the parties suspected, to examine the allegations closer. On reference to the papers still extant, in which the whole case is detailed, I find that numerous affidavits were made by persons resident in France, Holland, America, and England, all agreeing as to the infamy of Scott's character. We are also informed in the Correspondence, that he was afterwards obliged to quit the country precipitately, having killed a coachman in a fray, for which offence he was outlawed. It farther appears, that a principal witness against Mr. Pepys, named James, formerly his butler, had deposed before the Committee to his master's being a Roman Catholic; and that Morelli, who lived with him, though engaged under pretence of teaching him music, was a priest in disguise. But on his own apprehension, James confessed that he had invented the whole

story, at the instigation of Mr. Harbord, who had held out promises and rewards to him through Colonel Mansell and Mr. Alexander Harris; and he swore to this recantation before several witnesses. In addition to these exculpatory facts, we have the testimony of Evelyn, who mentions in his Diary that he dined with Mr. Pepys, then a prisoner in the Tower, and believed him to be unjustly accused.

In the mean time, Charles II. again thought fit to change the constitution of the Admiralty; owing to which arrangement, the nation lost the benefit of Mr. Pepys's services therein, but he had the honour of attending his Royal Master for ten days at Newmarket, in October, 1680, and on this occasion took down in short-hand, from the King's own mouth, the Narrative, since published, of his Majesty's escape after the battle of Worcester.

In September, 1683, Mr. Pepys was again brought into notice, having received the King's commands to accompany Lord Dartmouth on the expedition for demolishing Tangier: at the same time, he profited by the opportunity of making large excursions into Spain, as he had formerly done into France, Flanders, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark; not to mention his lesser voyages with the Duke of York, and especially one to Scotland in the preceding year, when he narrowly escaped shipwreck, by being on board his own yacht.¹

From the Tangier expedition Mr. Pepys returned the following spring; and the King having himself assumed the office of High Admiral, he was, "by the Royal commands, neither sought for nor foreseen, but brought to him expressly by Lord Dartmouth from Windsor,"² constituted Secretary for the affairs

¹ *Vide* Correspondence, p. 86.

² Mr. Pepys's own words in speaking of the transaction.

of the Admiralty, which office he continued to fill during the remainder of Charles II.'s reign, and the whole of that of his successor, whose confidence he had long most deservedly enjoyed : so much so, that the curious circumstance respecting the religion of Charles II., related by Evelyn, rests chiefly upon the authority of Mr. Pepys, to whom King James himself had communicated it. We are also told, that when his Majesty was sitting to Kneller for his picture,¹ intended as a present to the Secretary of the Admiralty, news coming of the Prince of Orange having landed, the King, with the utmost composure, desired the painter to proceed and finish the portrait, that his good friend might not be disappointed.

The history of the period from Mr. Pepys's committal to the Tower to the abdication of James II., so far as the administration of the Navy is concerned, and the part borne by him therein, will be found fully and elegantly detailed in his Memoirs, published in 1690, which the reader may consult for his more ample satisfaction.² From the perusal of this interesting little Tract, as well as many parts of the Work now published, it may be seen how erroneously the merit of restoring the Navy to its pristine splendour has been assigned to James II. by his different Biographers. Mr. Stanier Clarke,³ in particular, actually dwells upon the essential and lasting benefit which that Monarch conferred on his country, by *building up and regenerating the Naval Power*; and asserts, as a *proof of the King's great*

¹ Now in the possession of Mr. S. P. Cockerell, and engraved by Vertue.

² There is a small book in the Pepysian Library entitled "A Relation of the Troubles in the Court of Portugal in 1667 and 8, by S. P. Esq^{re}," London, 1677, 12mo. ; of which Watt states Mr. Pepys to have been the author.—*Vide* "Bibliotheca Britan."

³ *Vide* "Memoirs of James II."

ability, that the regulations still enforced under the orders of the Admiralty, are nearly the same as those originally drawn up by him. It becomes due therefore to Mr. Pepys, to explain, that for these improvements, the value of which no person can doubt, we are indebted to him, and not to his Royal Master. To establish this fact, it is only necessary to refer to the MSS. connected with the subject, in the Bodleian and Pepysian Libraries, by which the extent of Mr. Pepys's official labours can alone be appreciated ; and we even find in the Diary, as early as 1668, that a long letter of regulation, produced before the Commissioners of the Navy by the Duke of York, as his own composition, was entirely written by the Clerk of the Acts.

Upon the accession of William and Mary, Mr. Pepys lost his official employments, and the Electors of Harwich, unmindful of his having served them in three successive Parliaments, and perhaps naturally jealous of his avowed attachment to the exiled Monarch, refused, after a slight struggle, to return him to the Convention. He retired consequently into private life, trusting that he should be allowed to pass the remainder of his days in tranquillity, and the enjoyment of literary society, for which his various acquirements so peculiarly qualified him. He was, however, soon disturbed by the malice of his enemies, who, in June, 1690, procured his committal to the Gatehouse, upon pretence of his being affected to King James ; but he was soon permitted, on account of ill health, to return to his own house, and there is no farther mention of the charge ; though, even in 1692, he appears to have apprehended some fresh persecution, being obliged (as he himself observes) to enjoy his *otium* without the company of more of his books and papers, than he was willing should be visited

and disturbed. We are assured too, that notwithstanding political prejudices, and the bitterness of party spirit, Mr. Pepys was very generally consulted up to the time of his death, and looked upon as an oracle in all matters concerning the Navy; and, as far as the difficulties of the times allowed him opportunity, he seemed uniformly anxious to point out any improvement likely to benefit the service to which he had so long been an ornament.

Nor was the period of his retirement in other respects spent in an unprofitable manner, part of which he devoted with great application, and no small expense, to the restoration of the government of Christ's Hospital to its pristine purity; and he succeeded in preserving from impending ruin the Mathematical Foundation there, which had been originally designed by him, and, through his almost sole solicitations, endowed and cherished by his two Royal Masters.

The estimation in which Mr. Pepys was held for his literary attainments, had raised him in 1684 to the high station of President of the Royal Society, which he filled during two years with credit and ability. After he had relinquished the office, he was in the habit of entertaining the most distinguished members of that learned body, on Saturday evenings, at his house in York Buildings, where they assembled for the discussion of literary subjects, and the encouragement of the liberal arts. To the dissolution of these meetings, occasioned by the increasing infirmities of their Founder, Evelyn adverts in his letters, in terms of the strongest regret: nor could a person of his enlightened mind fail to derive the most heartfelt gratification from witnessing so many of his contemporaries eagerly devoting the small portion of their lives that remained, to the cultivation of science and the acquirement of useful knowledge.

Another portion of his fruitful recess the Author of the Diary set apart for the arrangement of his extensive collections, obtained, at an immense cost, for the general history of the *Navalia* of England, which he had promised to the public ; but age and ill health intervening, he was deprived of the vigour and opportunities requisite for completing the work ; and it remains a desideratum to this day.

Of his munificence, as a patron of literature, the numerous books dedicated to Mr. Pepys furnish ample testimony ; and in the Preface to *Willoughby's Historia Piscium*, 1684, he is justly styled by Mr. Ray, "Ingenuarum Artium, et Eruditorum Fautor et Patronus eximius," as having contributed no fewer than sixty plates to that work. He was also a considerable benefactor to St. Paul's School, and a subscriber to the New Court at Magdalene College.

Of his tender affection to his parents, the Diary affords many instances ; and his liberality, at a time when he was far from rich, in giving his sister Mrs. Jackson £600 as a marriage portion, is worthy of mention. Nor did his kindness to the family terminate here, as he took the management of her two sons, who were left orphans when very young, and wholly unprovided for, and educated them at his own expense. Samuel, the eldest, contracting extravagant habits early in life, and making a discreditable marriage, soon forfeited all claim to his relative's further good offices, while his brother John lived to repay the kindness shown to him. After completing his studies at Magdalene College, he was sent, under the auspices of his uncle, to make the tour of Italy and Spain ; and on his return, being received once more under his benefactor's roof, ultimately inherited his property, as a reward for the attentions with which he had soothed his declining years.

Mr. Pepys's valuable life was now drawing gradually

to a close. By the too continued exercises of his mind, without any consideration to his advanced age, he had destroyed his constitution, long before impaired by the stone. On this account the physicians persuaded him, in 1700, to bid adieu to York Buildings, and retire, for the sake of change of air, and repose, to the seat of his old friend and servant, William Hewer, at Clapham. Nor could a more eligible retreat have been selected, nor a kinder companion, than that cherished individual, whose amiable qualities, and disinterested gratitude to his patron, under circumstances of no common difficulty, entitle him to the highest commendation which can be bestowed.¹ Mr. Pepys, however, still persevered in the same studious occupations; and with the greater intenseness, as he was less exposed to interruption: the object of his removal was consequently frustrated, and he consummated the ruin of his health, and expired, after a lingering illness, May 26, 1703.

Though he lived in an age when religious duties were too generally neglected, and even ridiculed, Mr. Pepys retained the habit, acquired in his earliest youth, of constantly attending the service of the Church of England, and receiving the Holy Sacrament.² It is further gratifying to his Biographer, to

¹ Far different was the conduct of Josiah Burchett, and James Southerne, who had both been footboys in Mr. Pepys's service; and rising, through his interest, to high stations in the Admiralty, lived to forget their benefactor, and even treat him with neglect and disrespect.

² Upon this subject, the Certificate which follows, copied from the original in the Bodleian Library, appears too interesting to be omitted:—

“May 22, 1681.

“I, DANIEL MILLES, Doctor in Divinity, present (and for above twenty yeares last past) Rector of the parish of St. Olave's, Hart Street, London, doe hereby certify, that Samuel Pepys, Esq. some time one of the principall Officers and Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, and since Secretary of the Admiralty of England,

be able to trace in the Correspondence, that, as he advanced in years, he turned his mind more earnestly to serious thoughts, and devoutly prepared for the change which awaited him. Nor could the example of the virtuous Evelyn, whose friendship and society he had so long enjoyed, and cultivated to the last moments of his life, have been useless or unprofitable in this particular. The tranquillity of mind, and pious resignation, which he evinced on his death-bed, with some interesting details on the subject of

became (with his family) an inhabitant of the said Parish, about the month of June, in the yeare of our Lord, 1660, and so continued (without intermission) for the space of thirteen yeares, viz. untill about the same month in the yeare 1673, when he was called thence to attend his Majesty in his said Secretaryship: during all which time, the said Mr. Pepys and his whole family were constant attenders upon the publick worship of God and his holy Ordinances, (under my ministration,) according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, established by Law, without the least appearance or suggestion had of any inclination towards Popery, either in himself or any of his family; his Lady receiving the Holy Sacrament (in company with him, the said Mr. Pepys, her husband, and others) from my hand, according to the rites of the Church of England, upon her death-bed few houres before her decease, in the yeare 1669.

"And I doe hereby further certify, that the said Mr. Pepys hath, from the determination of his said residence in this parish, continued to receive the Holy Communion with the inhabitants thereof, to this day; so that I verily beleeeve, hee never failed, within the whole space of one and twenty yeares last past, (viz. from June 1660,) to this instant 22d of May, (being Whitsunday in the yeare 1681,) of communicating publickly in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with the inhabitants of the Parish, from my hand, at any of the solemn Feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, (besides his frequent monthly communicatings therein,) saving on Whitsunday 1679, when, being a prisoner in the Tower, he appears to have received it in the publick Chappell there; and at Easter last, when, by a violent sicknesse, (which confined him to his bed,) hee was to my particular knowledge rendered incapable of attending it. Witnesse my Hand, the day and the yeare above written.

"D. MILLES, D.D. Rect^r of S^t Olave,
"Hart Street, Lond."

his last illness, are so well related in the following letters, that no apology can be deemed necessary for their insertion :—

MR JACKSON TO MR EVELYN.¹

Clapham, May 28th, 1703,
Friday night.

HONOURED SIR,

'Tis no small addition to my grief, to be obliged to interrupt the quiet of your happy recess with the afflicting tidings of my Uncle Pepys's death ; knowing how sensibly you will partake with me herein. But I should not be faithful to his desires, if I did not beg your doing the honour to his memory of accepting mourning from him, as a small instance of his most affectionate respect and honour for you. I have thought myself extremely unfortunate to be out of the way at that only time when you were pleased lately to touch here, and express so great a desire of taking your leave of my Uncle ; which could not but have been admitted by him as a most welcome exception to his general orders against being interrupted ; and I could most heartily wish that the circumstances of your health, and distance, did not forbid me to ask the favour of your assisting in the holding up of the pawll at his interment, which is intended to be on Thursday next ; for if the manes are affected with what passes below, I am sure this would have been very grateful to his.

I must not omit acquainting you, Sir, that upon opening his body, (which the uncommonness of his case required of us, for our own satisfaction as well as public good,) there was found in his left kidney a nest of no less than seven stones, of the most irregular figures your imagination can frame, and weighing

¹ From a copy of the original letter, communicated by Mr. W. Upcott.

together four ounces and a half, but all fast linked together, and adhering to his back ; whereby they solve his having felt no greater pains upon motion, nor other of the ordinary symptoms of the stone. Some other lesser defects there also were in his body, proceeding from the same cause. But his stamina, in general, were marvellously strong, and not only supported him, under the most exquisite pains, weeks beyond all expectations ; but, in the conclusion, contended for near forty hours (unassisted by any nourishment) with the very agonies of death, some few minutes excepted before his expiring, which were very calm.

There remains only for me, under this affliction, to beg the consolation and honour of succeeding to your patronage, for my Uncle's sake ; and leave to number myself, with the same sincerity he ever did, among your greatest honourers, which I shall esteem as one of the most valuable parts of my inheritances from him ; being also, with the faithfulest wishes of health and a happy long life to you,

Honoured Sir,

Your most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

J. JACKSON.

Mr. Hewer, as my Uncle's Executor, and equally your faithful Servant, joins with me in every part hereof.

The time of my good Uncle's departure was about three-quarters past three on Wednesday morning last.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM DR HICKES¹
TO DR CHARLETT.²

June 5, 1703.

LAST night, at 9 a clock, I did the last office for your and my good friend, M^r Pepys, at S^t Olave's Church, where he was laid in a vault of his own making, by his wife and brother.

The greatness of his behaviour, in his long and sharp tryall before his death, was in every respect answerable to his great life; and I believe no man ever went out of this world with greater contempt of it, or a more lively faith in every thing that was revealed of the world to come. I administered the Holy Sacrament twice in his illness to him, and had administered it a third time, but for a sudden fit of illness that happened at the appointed time of administering of it. Twice I gave him the absolution of the Church, which he desired, and received with all reverence and comfort, and I never attended any sick, or dying person, that dyed with so much Christian greatnesse of mind, or a more lively sense of immortality, or so much fortitude and patience, in so long and sharp a tryall, or greater resignation to the will, which he most devoutly acknowledged to be the wisdom of God; and I doubt not but he is now a very blessed spirit, according to his motto, *MENS CUJUSQUE, IS EST QUISQUE*.

GEORGE HICKES.

Mr. Pepys, by his will bearing date May, 1703, left his estate at Brampton, and the residue of his

¹ George Hickes, D.D., deprived of the Deanery of Worcester, which he had held five years, from February 1689-90, for refusing to take the oaths to King William. He was a person of universal learning, and author of several works upon the old Northern Languages, in which he was deeply read. Ob. 1714, æt. suæ 74.

² From the original in the Bodleian Library, communicated by Dr. Bandinel.

property, charged with a few legacies, to his nephew John Jackson; to whom he also gave the use of his valuable Library and Collection of Prints, for his life, and directed that they should afterwards be removed to Magdalene College, Cambridge, and placed for ever, subject to certain restrictions and regulations, in the sole custody of the Master for the time being.¹ He seemed conscious that his heirs would not feel satisfied with his testamentary dispositions, and accordingly inserted the following clause in his will:—

“ I earnestly recommend it to my said Nephews to join with me in not repining at any disappointment they may, by the late public Providence of God, meet with in what they might otherwise have reasonably hoped for from me at my death; but to receive with thankfulness, from God’s hands, whatsoever it will prove, remembering it to be more than what either myself, or they, were born to, and therefore endeavouring, on their part, by all humble and honest endeavours to improve the same.”

He died, in fact, in very reduced circumstances; nor could it be otherwise, since he never received any pension or remuneration for his long official labours, subsequently to his retirement at the Revo-

¹ In a book in the College chest are two letters, dated from Clapham, 22nd July and 6th of August, 1703, and written by Mr. Jackson, nephew and heir of Samuel Pepys, to Dr. Quadring, Master of the College, relative to the death of his uncle, and the gift of his library either to Magdalene College or to Trinity. (See Hartshorne’s “Book Rarities of Cambridge.”) Mr. Jackson was to retain possession for his life, and the College did not come into possession of the Library until 1724, when it was removed with the original bookcases (see Diary, August 31st, 1666) to the College. Mr. Jackson had been a member of the College. See Entry-book: “Johannes Jackson, filius Johannis, de Brampton in Comitatu Huntingdoniæ, 15 annos tantum natus, e schola publica Huntingdoniæ admissus Pensionarius. Tutore Magistro Millington Junii 28^o 1686.” (M. B.)

lution ; while the habits of generosity and hospitality, in which he had indulged, when his means were more ample, terminated only with his life : and these expenses, added to the charges entailed upon him for the education of his Nephews, and the extensive collections which he was constantly making for his library, would have absorbed a larger income than he had ever possessed. There was also a balance of 28,007*l.* 2*s.* 1¼*d.* due to him from the Crown, on a long unsettled account, which had grown up during his employments as Treasurer for Tangier, Clerk of the Acts, and Secretary to the Admiralty ; and which he bequeathed specifically to be laid out in the purchase of lands for the use of his Nephew and his heirs. The original vouchers relating to this transaction, as verified on oath by the claimant himself, before Chief Baron Warde, are still in the possession of Mr. S. P. Cockerel, the representative of the family ; but the times which immediately preceded and followed his decease were not favourable to the liquidation of the debt, however due as an act of justice, as well as a tribute to the memory of so good and faithful a servant of the public. It is farther to be remarked, that though Mr. Pepys's funeral was conducted in a manner suitable to the station which he had adorned,¹ no stone, however humble, marks the spot within St. Olave's church in which his remains were deposited ; the vault is, however, probably contiguous to the monument erected by him to his wife, still to be seen.

In conclusion, I cannot resist inserting the character of Mr. Pepys, as given in the Supplement to

¹ " London, June 5. Yesterday in the evening were performed the obsequies of Samuel Pepys, Esq., in Crutched-Friars' Church ; whither his corpse was brought in a very honourable and solemn manner from Clapham, where he departed this life, the 26th day of the last Month."—*Post Boy*, No. 1257. June 5, 1703.

Collier's Dictionary, from which article I am bound to acknowledge that I have already drawn largely, in my attempt to compile this hasty and imperfect Memoir.

"It may be affirmed of this Gentleman," (says his contemporaneous Biographer,) "that he was, without exception, the greatest and most useful Minister that ever filled the same situations in England; the Acts and Registers of the Admiralty proving this fact beyond contradiction. The principal rules and establishments in present use in those offices are well known to have been of his introducing, and most of the officers serving therein, since the Restoration, of his bringing up. He was a most studious promoter and strenuous assertor of order and discipline through all their dependencies. Sobriety, diligence, capacity, loyalty, and subjection to command, were essentials required in all whom he advanced. Where any of these were found wanting, no interest or authority were capable of moving him in favour of the highest pretender; the Royal command only excepted, of which he was also very watchful, to prevent any undue procurements. Discharging his duty to his Prince and Country with a religious application and perfect integrity, he feared no one, courted no one, neglected his own fortune. Besides this, he was a person of universal worth, and in great estimation among the Literati, for his unbounded reading, his sound judgment, his great elocution, his mastery in method, his singular curiosity, and his uncommon munificence towards the advancement of learning, arts, and industry, in all degrees: to which were joined the severest morality of a philosopher, and all the polite accomplishments of a gentleman, particularly those of music, languages, conversation, and address. He assisted, as one of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, at the Coronation of James II., and

was a standing Governor of all the principal houses of charity in and about London, and sat at the head of many other honourable bodies, in divers of which, as he deemed their constitution and methods deserving, he left lasting monuments of his bounty and patronage."

Annexed is an engraving of a richly chased silver cup, presented by Mr. Pepys to the Clothworkers' Company,—of which he was Master in 1677,—and still constantly used at their Festivals.



111 A. 11. 11.



DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

1659-60.

BLESSED be God, at the end of the last year I was in very good health, without any sense of my old pain, but upon taking of cold.¹ I lived in Axe Yard, having my wife, and servant Jane, and no more in family than us three.

The condition of the State was thus; viz. the Rump, after being disturbed by my Lord Lambert,²

¹ See March 26th: "This day it is two years since it pleased God that I was cut for the stone at Mrs. Turner's in Salisbury Court; and did resolve while I live to keep it a festival." There is a very interesting letter, which is given in the correspondence from Pepys to his nephew, April 8th, 1700: "It has been my calamity for much the greatest part of this time to have been kept bed-ridden, under an evil so rarely known as to have had it matter of universal surprise and with little less general opinion of its dangerousness; namely, that the cicatrice of a wound occasioned upon my cutting for the stone, without hearing anything of it in all this time, should after more than 40 years' perfect cure, break out again," &c. (M.B.)

² Sufficiently known by his services as a major-general in the Parliament forces during the Civil War, and condemned as a traitor after the Restoration; but reprieved and banished to Guernsey, where he lived in confinement thirty years.

was lately returned to sit again. The officers of the Army all forced to yield. Lawson¹ lies still in the river, and Monk² is with his army in Scotland. Only my Lord Lambert is not yet come into the Parliament, nor is it expected that he will without being forced to it. The new Common Council of the City do speak very high; and had sent to Monk their sword-bearer, to acquaint him with their desires for a free and full Parliament, which is at present the desires, and the hopes, and expectation of all. Twenty-two of the old secluded members having been at the House-door the last week to demand entrance, but it was denied them; and it is believed that neither they nor the people will be satisfied till the House be filled. My own private condition very handsome, and esteemed rich, but indeed very poor; besides my goods of my house, and my office, which at present is somewhat uncertain. Mr. Downing³ master of my office.⁴

Jan. 1st (Lord's day). This morning (we living lately in the garret,) I rose, put on my suit with great skirts, having not lately worn any other clothes but them. Went to Mr. Gunning's⁵ chapel at

¹ Sir John Lawson, the son of a poor man at Hull, rose to the rank of Admiral, and distinguished himself during the Protectorate; and, though a republican in his heart, readily closed with the design of restoring the King. He was mortally wounded in the sea-fight in 1665.

² George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle.

³ George Downing. Wood calls him a sinner with all times and changes; skilled in the common cant, and a preacher occasionally. He was sent by Cromwell to Holland as resident there. About the Restoration he espoused the King's cause, and was knighted and elected M. P. for Morpeth in 1661. Afterwards, becoming Secretary to the Treasury and Commissioner of Customs, he was in 1663 created a Baronet of East Hatley, in Cambridgeshire.

⁴ The office appears to have been in the Exchequer, and connected with the pay of the army.

⁵ Peter Gunning, afterwards master of St. John's College, Cam-

Exeter House,¹ where he made a very good sermon upon these words :—"That in the fulness of time God sent his Son, made of a woman," &c. ; showing, that, by "made under the law," is meant his circumcision, which is solemnized this day. Dined at home in the garret, where my wife dressed the remains of a turkey, and in the doing of it she burned her hand. I staid at home the whole afternoon, looking over my accounts ; then went with my wife to my father's, and in going observed the great posts which the City have set up at the Conduit in Fleet-street. Supt at my father's, where in came Mrs. The. Turner and Madam Morrice, and supt with us. After that my wife went home with them, and so to our own home.

2nd. In the morning before I went forth old East brought me a dozen of bottles of sack, and I gave him a shilling for his pains. Then I went to Mr. Shepley, who was drawing of sack in the wine cellar to send to other places as a gift from my Lord, and told me that my Lord had given him order to give me the dozen of bottles. Thence I went to the Temple to speak with Mr. Calthropp about the £60 due to my Lord, but missed of him, he being abroad. Then I went to Mr. Crew's and borrowed £10 of Mr. Andrews for my own use, and so went to my office, where there was nothing to do. Then I walked a great while in Westminster Hall, where I heard that Lambert was coming up to London ; that my Lord Fairfax was in the head of the Irish brigade, but it was not certain what he would declare

bridge, and successively Bishop of Chichester and Ely : ob. 1684. He had continued to read the Liturgy at the chapel at Exeter House when the Parliament was most predominant, for which Cromwell often rebuked him.—WOOD'S *Athenæ*.

¹ Essex-street in the Strand was built on the site of Exeter House.

for. The House was to-day upon finishing the act for the Council of State, which they did ; and for the indemnity to the soldiers ; and were to sit again thereupon in the afternoon. Great talk that many places have declared for a free Parliament ; and it is believed that they will be forced to fill up the House with the old members. From the Hall I called at home, and so went to Mr. Crew's ¹ (my wife she was to go to her father's), thinking to have dined, but I came too late, so Mr. Moore and I and another gentleman went out and drank a cup of ale together in the new market, and there I eat some bread and cheese for my dinner. After that Mr. Moore and I went as far as Fleete-streete together and parted, he going into the City, I to find Mr. Calthropp, but failed again of finding him, so returned to Mr. Crew's again, and from thence went along with Mrs. Jemimah home, and there she taught me how to play at cribbage. Then I went home, and finding my wife gone to see Mrs. Hunt, I went to Will's, and there sat with Mr. Ashwell talking and singing till nine o'clock, and so home, there, having not eaten but bread and cheese, my wife cut me a slice of brawn which I received from my Lady, which proves as good as ever I had any. So to bed, and my wife had a very bad night of it through wind and cold.

3rd. I went out in the morning, it being a great frost, and walked to Mrs. Turner's to stop her from coming to see me to-day, because of Mrs. Jem's coming, thence I went to the Temple to speak with Mr. Calthropp, and walked in his chamber an hour, but could not see him, so to Westminster, where I

¹ John Crewe, Esq., created Baron Crewe of Stene at the coronation of Charles II. He married Jemima, daughter and co-heir to Edward Walgrave, Esq., of Lawford, co. Essex.

Pepys invariably spells the name without the final *e* ; in general he is not particular in his way of spelling proper names. (M. B.)

found soldiers in my office to receive money, and paid it them. At noon went home, where Mrs. Jem, her mayde, Mr. Shepley, Hawley, and Moore dined with me on a piece of beef and cabbage, and a collar of brawn. We then fell to cards till dark, and then I went home with Mrs. Jem, and meeting Mr. Hawley got him to bear me company to Chancery Lane, where I spoke with Mr. Calthropp, he told me that Sir James Calthropp was lately dead, but that he would write to his Lady, that the money may be speedily paid. Thence back to White Hall, where I understood that the Parliament had passed the act for indemnity for the soldiers and officers that would come in, in so many days, and that my Lord Lambert should have benefit of the said act. They had also voted that all vacancies in the House, by the death of any of the old members, shall be filled up; but those that are living shall not be called in. Thence I went home, and there found Mr. Hunt and his wife, and Mr. Hawley, who sat with me till ten at night at cards, and so broke up and to bed.

4th. Early came Mr. Vanley to me for his half-year's rent, which I have not in the house, but took his man to the office and there paid him. Then I went down into the Hall and to Will's, where Hawley brought a piece of his Cheshire cheese, and we were merry with it. Then into the Hall again, where I met with the Clerk and Quarter Master of my Lord's troop, and took them to the Swan and gave them their morning's draft, they being just come to town. Mr. Jenkins shewed me two bills of exchange for money to receive upon my Lord's and my pay. It snowed hard all this morning, and was very cold, and my nose was much swelled with cold. Strange the difference of men's talk! Some say that Lambert must of necessity yield up; others, that he is very strong, and that the Fifth-monarchy-men will

stick to him, if he declares for a free Parliament. Chillington was sent yesterday to him with the vote of pardon and indemnity from the Parliament. From the Hall I came home, where I found letters from Hinchinbroke and news of Mr. Shepley's going thither the next week. I dined at home, and from thence went to Will's to Shaw, who promised me to go along with me to Atkinson's about some money, but I found him at cards with Spicer and D. Vines, and could not get him along with me. I was vexed at this, and went and walked in the Hall, where I heard that the Parliament spent this day in fasting and prayer; and in the afternoon came letters from the North, that brought certain news that my Lord Lambert his forces were all forsaking him, and that he was left with only fifty horse, and that he did now declare for the Parliament himself; and that my Lord Fairfax¹ did also rest satisfied, and had laid down his arms, and that what he had done was only to secure the country against my Lord Lambert his raising of money, and free quarter. I went to Wills again, where I found them still at cards, and Spicer had won 14s. of Shaw and Vines. Then I spent a little time with G. Vines and Maylard at Vines's at our viols. So home, and from thence to Mr. Hunt's, and sat with them and Mr. Hawley at cards till ten at night, and was much made of by them.

5th. I went to my office, where the money was again expected from the Excise office, but none brought, but was promised to be sent this afternoon. I dined with Mr. Shepley, at my Lord's² lodgings,

¹ Thomas Lord Fairfax, Generalissimo of the Parliament forces. After the Restoration he retired to his country seat, where he lived in private till his death in 1671.

² Admiral Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, uniformly styled "My Lord" throughout the Diary.

upon his turkey-pie. And so to my office again; where the Excise money was brought, and some of it told to soldiers till it was dark. Then I went home, after writing to my Lord the news that the Parliament hath this night voted that the members that were discharged from sitting in the years 1648 and 49, were duly discharged; and that there should be writs issued presently for the calling of others in their places, and that Monk and Fairfax were commanded up to town, and that the Prince's lodgings were to be provided for Monk at Whitehall. Then my wife and I, it being a great frost, went to Mrs. Jem's, in expectation to eat a sack-posset, but Mr. Edward not coming it was put off; and so I left my wife playing at cards with her, and went myself with my lanthorne to Mr. Fage, to consult concerning my nose, who told me it was nothing but cold, and after that we did discourse concerning public business; and he told me it is true the City had not time enough to do much, but they are resolved to shake off the soldiers; and that unless there be a free Parliament chosen, he did believe there are half the Common Council will not levy any money by order of this Parliament. From thence I went to my father's, where I found Mrs. Ramsey and her grandchild, a pretty girle, and staid a while and talked with them and my mother, and then took my leave, only heard of an invitation to go to dinner to-morrow to my cozen Thomas Pepys. I went back to Mrs. Jem, and took my wife and Mrs. Shepley, and went home.

6th. This morning Mr. Shepley and I did eat our breakfast at Mrs. Harper's, (my brother John being with me,) upon a cold turkey-pie and a goose. From thence I went to my office, where we paid money to the soldiers till one o'clock, and I took my wife to my cozen, Thomas Pepys, and found them

just sat down to dinner, which was very good ; only the venison pasty was palpable beef, which was not handsome. After dinner I took my leave, leaving my wife with my cozen Stradwick, and went to Westminster to Mr. Vines, where George and I fiddled a good while, Dick and his wife and her sister being there, but Mr. Hudson not coming according to his promise, I went away, and calling at my house on the wench, I took her and the lanthorne with me to my cozen Stradwick, where, after a good supper, there being there my father, mother, brothers, and sister, my cozen Scott and his wife, and her brother, Mr. Stradwick, we had a brave cake brought us, and in the choosing Pall¹ was Queen, and Mr. Stradwick was King. After that my wife and I bid adieu and came home, it being still a great frost.

7th. At my office as I was receiving money of the probate of wills, in came Mrs. Turner, Theoph. Madame Morrice, and Joyce, and after I had done I took them home to my house, and Mr. Hawley came after, and I got a dish of steaks and a rabbit for them, while they were playing a game or two at cards. In the middle of our dinner a messenger from Mr. Downing came to fetch me to him, so leaving Mr. Hawley there, I went and was forced to stay till night in expectation of the French Embassador, who at last came, and I had a great deal of good discourse with one of his gentlemen concerning the reason of the difference between the zeal of the French and the Spaniard. After he was gone I went home, and found my friends still at cards, and after that I went along with them to Dr. Whores (sending my wife to Mrs. Jem's to a sack-posset), where I heard some symphony and songs of his own making, performed by Mr. May, Harding, and

¹ Paulina, his sister, afterwards married to Mr. John Jackson. See March 2nd, 1667-68.—(M. B.)

Mallard. Afterwards I put my friends into a coach, and went to Mrs. Jem's, where I wrote a letter to my Lord by the post, and had my part of the posset which was saved for me, and so we went home, and put in at my Lord's lodgings, where we staid late, eating of part of his turkey-pie, and reading of Quarles' Emblems. So home and to bed.

8th (Lord's day). In the morning I went to Mr. Gunning's, where a good sermon, wherein he showed the life of Christ, and told us good authority for us to believe that Christ did follow his father's trade, and was a carpenter till thirty years of age. From thence to my father's to dinner, where I found my wife, who was forced to dine there, we not having one coal of fire in the house, and it being very hard frosty weather. In the afternoon my father, he going to a man's to demand some money due to my Aunt Bell, my wife and I went to Mr. Messums, where a strange doctor made a very good sermon. From thence sending my wife to my father's, I went to Mrs. Turner's, and staid a little while, and then to my father's, where I found Mr. Shepley, and after supper went home together. Here I heard of the death of Mr. Palmer, and that he was to be buried at Westminster to-morrow.

9th. For these two or three days I have been much troubled with thoughts how to get money to pay them that I have borrowed money of, by reason of my money being in my uncle's hands. I rose early this morning, and looked over and corrected my brother John's speech, which he is to make the next apposition,¹ and after that I went towards my office, and in my way met with W. Simons, Muddiman, and Jack Price, and went with them to Harper's and staid till two of the clock in the after-

¹ Declamations at St. Paul's School, in which there were opponents and respondents.

noon. I found Muddiman a good scholar, an arch rogue; and owns that though he writes new books for the Parliament, yet he did declare that he did it only to get money; and did talk very basely of many of them. Among other things, W. Simons told me how his uncle Scobell¹ was on Saturday last called to the bar, for entering in the journal of the House, for the year 1653, these words: "This day his Excellence the Lord G. Cromwell dissolved this House;" which words the Parliament voted a forgery, and demanded of him how they came to be entered. He answered that they were his own handwriting, and that he did it by virtue of his office, and the practice of his predecessor; and that the intent of the practice was to let posterity know how such and such a Parliament was dissolved, whether by the command of the King, or by their own neglect, as the last House of Lords was; and that to this end, he had said and writ that it was dissolved by his Excellence the Lord G.; and that for the word dissolved, he never at the time did hear of any other term; and desired pardon if he would not dare to make a word himself when it was six years after, before they came themselves to call it an interruption; but they were so little satisfied with this answer, that they did chuse a committee to report to the House, whether this crime of Mr. Scobell's did come within the act of indemnity or no. Thence I went with Muddiman to the Coffee-House, and gave 18*d.* to be entered of the Club. Thence into the Hall, where I heard for certain that Monk was coming to London, and that Bradshaw's² lodgings were preparing for him. Thence to Mrs. Jem's, and found her in bed, and she was afraid that it would prove

¹ H. Scobell, clerk to the House of Commons.

² John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, President of the High Court of Justice.

the small-pox. Thence back to Westminster Hall, where I heard how Sir H. Vane¹ was this day voted out of the House, and to sit no more there; and that he would retire himself to his house at Raby, as also all the rest of the nine officers that had their commissions formerly taken away from them, were commanded to their farthest houses from London during the pleasure of the Parliament. Here I met with the Quarter Master of my Lord's troop, and his clerk Mr. Jennings, and took them home, and gave them a bottle of wine, and the remainder of my collar of brawn, and so good night. After that came in Mr. Hawley, who told me that I was missed this day at my office, and that to-morrow I must pay all the money that I have, at which I was put to a great loss how I should get money to make up my cash, and so went to bed in great trouble.

10th. Went out early, and in my way met with Greatorrex, and at an alehouse he shewed me the first sphere of wire that ever he made, and indeed it was very pleasant; thence to Mr. Crew's, and borrowed £10, and so to my office, and was able to pay my money. Thence into the Hall, and meeting the Quarter Master, Jennings, and Captain Rider, we went to a cook's to dinner. Thence Jennings and I into London (it being through heat of the sun a great thaw and dirty) to show our bills of return, and coming back drank a pint of wine at the Star in Cheapside. So to Westminster, overtaking Captain Okeshott in his silk cloak, whose sword got hold of many people in walking. Thence to the Coffee-house, where were a great confluence of gentlemen;

¹ Son of a statesman of both his names, and one of the most turbulent enthusiasts produced by the Rebellion, and an inflexible republican. His execution, in 1662, for conspiring the death of Charles I. was much called in question as a measure of great severity.

viz. Mr. Harrington,¹ Poultny,² chairman, Gold, Dr. Petty,³ &c., where admirable discourse till 9 at night. Thence with Doling to Mother Lam's, who told me how this day Scott,⁴ was made Intelligencer, and that the rest of the members that were objected against last night, their business was to be heard this day se'nnight. Thence I went home and wrote a letter, and went to Harper's, and staid there till Tom carried it to the Postboy at Whitehall. So home to bed.

11th. Being at Will's with Captain Barker, who has paid me £300 this morning at my office, in comes my father, and with him I walked, and leave him at W. Joyce's, and went myself to Mr. Crew's, but came too late to dine, and therefore after a game at shittle-cock with Mr. Walgrave, to my father, and taking him from W. Joyce's, who was not abroad himself, we inquired of a porter, and by his direction went to an alehouse, where after a cup or two we parted. I went towards London, and in my way went in to see Crowly, who was now grown a very great loon and very tame. Thence to Mr. Stephen's with a pair of silver snuffers, and bought a pair of shears to cut silver, and so homeward again. From home I went to see Mrs. Jem, who was in bed, and now granted to have the small-pox. Back again,

¹ James Harrington, the political writer, author of "Oceana," and founder of a club called the Rota, in 1659, which met at Miles's coffee-house in Old Palace Yard, and lasted only a few months. In 1661 he was sent to the Tower, on suspicion of treasonable designs. His intellects appear to have failed afterwards, and he died 1677.

² Sir William Poultny, subsequently M. P. for Westminster, and a Commissioner of the Privy Seal under King William. Ob. 1691.

³ Sir William Petty, an eminent physician, and celebrated for his proficiency in every branch of science. Ob. 1687.

⁴ Thomas Scott, M. P., made Secretary of State to the Commonwealth Jan. 17th following.

and went to the Coffee-house, but tarried not, and so home.

12th. I drink my morning at Harper's with Mr. Shepley and a seaman, and so to my office, where Captain Holland came to see me. After that I went home, and thence to the Half Moon, where I found the Captain and Mr. Billingsby and Newman, a barber, where we were very merry, and had the young man that plays so well on the Welsh harp. Billingsby paid for all. Thence home, and finding my letters this day not gone by the carrier I new sealed them, but my brother Tom coming we fell into discourse about my intention to feast the Joyces. I sent for a bit of meat for him from the cook's, and forgot to send my letters this night. So I went to bed, and in discourse broke to my wife what my thoughts were concerning my design of getting money by, &c.

13th. Coming in the morning to my office, I met with Mr. Fage and took him to the Swan. He told me how high Haselrigge,¹ and Morley,² the last night began at my Lord Mayor's to exclaim against the City of London, saying that they had forfeited their charter. And how the Chamberlain of the City did take them down, letting them know how much they were formerly beholding to the City, &c. He also told me that Monk's letter that came to them by the sword-bearer was a cunning piece, and that which they did not much trust to; but they were resolved to make no more applications to the Parliament, nor to pay any money, unless the secluded members be brought in, or a free Parliament chosen. Thence to my office, where nothing to do. So to Will's

¹ Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Bart., of Nosely, co. Leicester, colonel of a regiment in the Parliament army, and much esteemed by Cromwell. Ob. 1660.

² Probably Colonel Morley, Lieutenant of the Tower.

with Mr. Pinkney, who invited me to their feast at his Hall the next Monday. Thence I went home and took my wife and dined at Mr. Wade's, and after that we went and visited Catan. From thence home again, and my wife was very unwilling to let me go forth, but with some discontent would go out if I did, and I going forth towards Whitehall, I saw she followed me, and so I staid and took her round through Whitehall, and so carried her home angry. Thence I went to Mrs. Jem, and found her up and merry, and that it did not prove the small-pox, but only the swine-pox; so I played a game or two at cards with her. And so to Mr. Vines, where he and I and Mr. Hudson played half-a-dozen things, there being there Dick's wife and her sister. After that I went home and found my wife gone abroad to Mr. Hunt's, and came in a little after me. So to bed.

14th. Nothing to do at our office. Thence into the Hall, and just as I was going to dinner from Westminster with Mr. Moon (with whom I had been in the lobby to hear news, and had spoke with Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper about my Lord's lodgings) to his house, I met with Captain Holland, who told me that he hath brought his wife to my house, so I posted home and got a dish of meat for them. They staid with me all the afternoon, and went hence in the evening. Then I went with my wife, and left her at market, and went myself to the Coffee-house, and heard exceeding good argument against Mr. Harrington's assertion, that overbalance of propriety¹

¹ See Trench's "Select Glossary," page 171: "All 'propriety' is now mental or moral; where material things are concerned, 'property' is the word which we use. It needs hardly to say that 'propriety' and 'property' were at the first no more than different spellings or slightly different forms of one and the same word, which now, however, have been thus usefully desynonymized.

(*i.e.*, property) was the foundation of government. Home, and wrote to Hinchinbroke, and sent that and my other letter that missed of going on Thursday last. So to bed.

15th. Having been exceedingly disturbed in the night with the barking of a dog of one of our neighbours that I could not sleep for an hour or two, I slept late, and then in the morning took physic, and so staid within all day. At noon my brother John came to me, and I corrected as well as I could his Greek speech to say the Apposition, though I believe he himself was as well able to do it as myself. After that we went to read in the great Officiale about the blessing of bells in the Church of Rome. After that my wife and I in pleasant discourse till night that I went to supper, and after that to make an end of this week's notes in this book, and so to bed.

16th. In the morning I went up to Mr. Crew's, who did talk to me concerning things of state; and expressed his mind how just it was that the secluded members should come to sit again. Went from thence, and in my way went into an alehouse and drank my morning draft with Matthew Andrews and two or more of his friends, coachmen. And of one of them I did hire a coach to carry us to-morrow to Twickenham. From thence to my office, where nothing to do; but Mr. Downing came and found me all alone; and did mention to me his going back

'He provides good bounds and sufficient fences betwixt his own and his master's estate (Jacob, Gen. xxx. 36, set his flock three days' journey from Laban's), that no quarrel may arise about their *propriety*, nor suspicion that his remnant hath eaten up his master's whole cloth.'—FULLER, *The Holy State*, b. i. c. 8.

"Hail, wedded love, mysterious law, true source
Of human offspring, sole *propriety*
In Paradise of all things common else."

MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, b. v.—(M.B.)

into Holland, and did ask me whether I would go or no, but gave me little encouragement, but bid me consider of it; and asked me whether I did not think that Mr. Hawley could perform the work of my office alone or no. I confess I was at a great loss, all the day after, to bethink myself how to carry this business. At noon, Harry Ethall came to me and went along with Mr. Maylard by coach as far as Salsbury Court, and there we set him down, and we went to the Clerks, where we came a little too late, but in a closet we had a very good dinner by Mr. Pinkny's courtesy, and after dinner we had pretty good singing, and one, Hazard, sung alone after the old fashion, which was very much cried up, but I did not like it. Thence we went to the Green Dragon, on Lambeth Hill, both the Mr. Pinkny's, Smith, Harrison, Morrice, that sang the bass, Shepley and I, and there we sang of all sorts of things at first sight, and after that I played on my flageolette and staid there till nine o'clock, very merry and drawn on with one song after another till it came to be so late. After that Shepley, Harrison and myself, we went towards Westminster on foot, and at the Golden Lion, near Charing Cross, we went in and drank a pint of wine, and so parted, and thence home, where I found my wife and mayde a-washing. I staid up till the bell-man came by with his bell just under my window as I was writing of this very line, and cried, "Past one of the clock, and a cold, frosty, windy morning." I then went to bed, and left my wife and the mayde a-washing still.

17th. Early I went to Mr. Crew's, and having given Mr. Edward money to give the servants, I took him into the coach that waited for us and carried him to my house, where the coach waited for me while I and the child went to Westminster Hall, and I bought him some pictures. In the Hall I met

Mr. Woodfine, and took him to Will's and drank with him. Thence the child and I to the coach, where my wife was ready, and so we went towards Twickenham. In our way, at Kensington we understood how that my Lord Chesterfield¹ had killed another gentleman about half an hour before, and was fled. We went forwards and came about one of the clock to Mr. Fuller's, but he was out of town, so we had a dinner there, and I gave the child 40s. to give to the two ushers. After that we parted and went homewards, it being market day at Brainford. I set my wife down and went with the coach to Mr. Crew's, thinking to have spoke with Mr. Moore and Mrs. Jem, he having told me the reason of his melancholy was some unkindness from her after so great expressions of love, and how he had spoke to her friends and had their consent, and that he would desire me to take an occasion of speaking with her, but by no means not to heighten her discontent or distaste whatever it be, but to make it up if I can. But he being out of doors, I went away and went to see Mrs. Jem, who was now very well again, and after a game or two at cards, I left her. So I went to the Coffee Club, and heard very good discourse; it was in answer to Mr. Harrington's answer, who said that the state of the Roman government was not a settled government, and so it was no wonder that the balance of propriety² (*i.e.*, property) was in one hand, and the command in another, it being therefore always in a posture of war; but it was carried by ballot, that it was a steady government, though it is true by the voices it had been carried before that it was an unsteady government; so tomorrow it is to be proved by the opponents that the balance lay in one hand, and the government in

¹ Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, born 1634, ob. 1713.

² See Note. January 14th. (M. B.)

another. Thence I went to Westminster, and met Shaw and Washington, who told me how this day Sydenham¹ was voted out of the House for sitting any more this Parliament, and that Salloway² was voted out likewise and sent to the Tower, during the pleasure of the House. At Harper's Jack Price told me, among other things, how much the Protector is altered, though he would seem to bear out his trouble very well, yet he is scarce able to talk sense with a man; and how he will say that "Who should a man trust, if he may not trust to a brother and an uncle;" and "how much those men have to answer before God Almighty, for their playing the knave with him as they did." He told me also, that there was 100,000*l.* offered, and would have been taken for his restitution, had not the Parliament come in as they did again; and that he do believe that the Protector will live to give a testimony of his valour and revenge yet before he dies, and that the Protector will say so himself sometimes.

18th. To my office and from thence to Will's, and there Mr. Shepley brought me letters from the carrier and so I went home. After that to Wilkinson's, where we had a dinner for Mr. Talbot, Adams, Pinkny and his son, but his son did not come. Here we were very merry and while I was here, Mr. Fuller came thither and staid a little while. After that we all went to my Lord's, whither came afterwards Mr. Harrison, and by chance seeing Mr. Butler coming by I called him in and so we sat drinking a bottle of wine till night. At which time Mistress Ann came with the key of my Lord's study for some

¹ Colonel Sydenham had been an active officer during the Civil Wars, on the Parliament side. M. P. for Dorsetshire, and Governor of Melcombe, and one of the Committee of Safety. See January 14th.

² In the Journals of that date Major Salwey.

things, and so we all broke up and after I had gone to my house and interpreted my Lord's letter by his character¹ I came to her again and went with her to her lodging and from thence to Mr. Crew's, where I advised with him what to do about my Lord's lodgings and what answer to give to Sir Ant. Cooper and so I came home and to bed. All the world is at a loss to think what Monk will do : the City saying that he will be for them, and the Parliament saying he will be for them.

19th. This morning I was sent for to Mr. Downing, and at his bed side he told me, that he had a kindness for me, and that he thought that he had done me one ; and that was, that he had got me to be one of the Clerks of the Council ; at which I was a little stumbled, and could not tell what to do, whether to thank him or no ; but by and by I did ; but not very heartily, for I feared that his doing of it was only to ease himself of the salary which he gives me. After that Mr. Shepley staying below all this time for me we went thence and met Mr. Pierce, so at the Harp and Ball drank our morning draft and so to Whitehall where I met with Sir Ant. Cooper and did give him some answer from my Lord and he did give us leave to keep the lodgings still. And so we did determine thereupon that Mr. Shepley might now go into the country and would do so to-morrow. Back I went by Mr. Downing's order and staid there till twelve o'clock in expectation of one to come to read some writings, but he came not, so I staid all alone reading the answer of the Dutch Ambassador to our State, in answer to the reasons of my Lord's coming home, which he gave for his coming, and did labour herein to contradict my Lord's arguments for his coming home. Mr. Moore and I went to the French Ordinary, where Mr. Downing this day

¹ *i. e.* cipher. See January 25. (M. B.)

feasted Sir Arth. Haselrigge, and a great many more of the Parliament, and did stay to put him in mind of me. Here he gave me a note to go and invite some other members to dinner to-morrow. So I went to White Hall, and did stay at Marsh's with Simons, Luellin, and all the rest of the Clerks of the Council, who I hear are all turned out, only the two Leighs, and they do all tell me that my name was mentioned last night, but that nothing was done in it. Hence I went and did leave some of my notes at the lodgings of the members and so home. To bed.

20th. In the morning I went to Mr. Downing's bed side and gave him an account what I had done as to his guests, and I went thence to my Lord Widdrington¹ who I met in the street, going to seal the patents for the Judges to-day, and so could not come to dinner. I called upon Mr. Calthrop about the money due to my Lord. Here I met with Mr. Woodfine and drank with him at the Sun in Chancery Lane and so to Westminster Hall, where at the lobby I spoke with the rest of my guests and so to my office. At noon went by water with Mr. Mayl^d. and Hales to the Swan in Fish Streete at our Coal Feast, where we were very merry at our Jole of Ling, and from thence after a great and good dinner Mr. Falconberge would go drink a cup of ale. Thence calling on Mr. Stephens and Wootton (with whom I drank) about business of my Lord's I went to the Coffee Club where there was nothing done but choosing of a Committee for orders. Thence to Westminster Hall where Mrs. Lane and the rest of the mayds had their white scarfs, all having been at

¹ Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knight, Serjeant-at-Law, one of Cromwell's Commissioners of the Treasury, appointed Speaker 1656, and first Commissioner for the Great Seal, January, 1659; he was M.P. for York.

the burial of a young bookseller in the Hall. Thence to Mr. Shepley's and took him to my house and drank with him in order to his going to-morrow. So parted and I sat up late making up my accounts before he go. This day three citizens of London went to meet Monk from the Common Council.

21st. Up early in finishing my accounts and writing to my Lord and from thence to my Lord's and took leave of Mr. Shepley and possession of the keys and the house. Thence to my office for some money to pay Mr. Shepley and sent it him by the old man. I then went to Mr. Downing who chid me because I did not give him notice of some of his guests failed him but I told him that I sent our porter to tell him and he was not within, but he told me that he was within till past twelve o'clock. So the porter or he lied. Thence to my office where nothing to do. Then with Mr. Hawley he and I went to Mr. Crew's and dined there. Thence into London to Mr. Vernon's and I received my 25*l.* due by bill for my trooper's pay. At the Mitre,¹ in Fleet-street, in our way calling on Mr. Fage, who told me how the City have some hopes of Monk. Thence to the Mitre, where I drank a pint of wine, the house being in fitting for Banister to come hither from Paget's. Thence to Mrs. Jem and gave her 5*l.* So home and left my money and to Whitehall where Luellin and I drank and talked together an hour at Marsh's and so up to the clerks' room, where poor Mr. Cook, a black man, that is like to be put out of his clerk's place, came and railed at me for endeavouring to put him out and get myself in, when I was already in a good condition. But I satisfied him and after I had wrote a letter there to my Lord, wherein I gave him an

¹ A tavern familiar to all readers of Boswell. "Dined by ourselves at our old rendezvous, the Mitre Tavern," &c.—BOSWELL'S *Life of Johnson*, May 1, 1773. (M. B.)

account how this day Lenthall¹ took his chair again, and [the House] resolved a declaration to be brought in on Monday to satisfy the world what they intend to do. So home and to bed.

22nd. I went in the morning to Mr. Messum's, where I met with W. Thurburn and sat in his pew. A very eloquent sermon about the duty of all to give good example in our lives and conversation, which I fear he himself was most guilty of not doing. After sermon, at the door by appointment my wife met me, and so to my father's to dinner, where we had not been to my shame in a fortnight before. After dinner my father shewed me a letter from Mr. Widdrington, of Christ's College, in Cambridge, wherein he do express very great kindness for my brother, and my father intends that my brother shall go to him. To church in the afternoon to Mr. Herring, where a lazy poor sermon. This day I began to put on buckles to my shoes, which I have bought yesterday of Mr. Wotton.

23rd. In the morning called out to carry £20 to Mr. Downing, which I did and came back, and finding Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, I took him to the Axe and gave him his morning draft. Thence to my office and there did nothing but make up my balance. Came home and found my wife dressing of the girl's head, by which she was made to look very pretty. I went out and paid Wilkinson what I did owe him, and brought a piece of beef home for dinner. Thence I went out and paid Waters, the vintner, and went to see Mrs. Jem, where I found my Lady Wright, but Scott was so drunk that he could not be seen. Here I staid and made up Mrs. Ann's bills, and played a game or two at cards,

¹ William Lenthall, Speaker of the Long, or Rump Parliament, and made Keeper of the Great Seal to the Commonwealth, ob. 1662.

and thence to Westminster Hall, it being very dark. I paid Mrs. Michell, my bookseller, and back to Whitehall, and in the garden, going through to the Stone Gallery I fell into a ditch, it being very dark. At the Clerk's chamber I met with Simons and Luellin, and went with them to Mr. Mount's chamber at the Cock Pit, where we had some rare pot venison, and ale to abundance till almost twelve at night, and after a song round we went home. This day the Parliament sat late, and resolved of the declaration to be printed for the people's satisfaction, promising them a great many good things.

24th. In the morning to my office, where, after I had drank my morning draft at Will's with Ethell and Mr. Stevens, I went and told part of the excise money till twelve o'clock, and then called on my wife and took her to Mrs. Pierce's, she in the way being exceedingly troubled with a pair of new pattens, and I vexed to go so slow, it being late. We found Mrs. Carrick very fine, and one Mr. Lucy, who called one another husband and wife, and after dinner a great deal of mad stir. There was pulling off Mrs. bride's and Mr. bridegroom's ribbons,¹ and a great deal of fooling among them that I and my wife did not like. Mr. Lucy and several other gentlemen coming in after dinner, swearing and singing as if they were mad, only he singing very handsomely. There came in afterwards Mr. [James] Southerne, clerk to Mr. Blackburne, and with him Lambert, lieutenant of my Lord's ship, and brought with them the declaration that came out to-day from the Parliament, wherein they declare for law and gospel, and for tythes; but I do not find people apt to believe them. After this taking leave I went to my father's, and my wife staying there, he

¹ See 26th January, 1660-61, and 8th February, 1662-63.

and I went to speak with Mr. Crumlum¹ (in the meantime, while it was five o'clock, he being in the school, we went to my cozen Tom Pepys' shop, the turner in Paul's Churchyard, and drank with him a pot of ale); he gave my father directions what to do about getting my brother an exhibition, and spoke very well of my brother. Thence back with my father home, where he and I spoke privately in the little room to my sister Pall about stealing of things as my wife's scissars and my mayde's book, at which my father was much troubled. Hence home with my wife and so to Whitehall, where I met with Mr. Hunt and Luellin, and drank with them at Marsh's, and afterwards went up and wrote to my Lord by the post. This day the Parliament gave order that the late Committee of Safety should come before them this day se'nnight, and all their papers, and their model of Government that they had made, to be brought in with them.

25th. Called up early to Mr. Downing; he gave me a Character,² such a one as my Lord's, to make perfect, and likewise gave me his order for £500 to carry to Mr. Frost, which I did and so to my office, where I did do something about the character till twelve o'clock. Then home and found my wife and the mayde at my Lord's getting things ready against to-morrow. I went by water to my Uncle White's to dinner, where I met my father, where we alone had a fine poll of Ling to dinner. After dinner I took leave, and coming home heard that in Cheapside there had been but a little before a gibbet set up, and the picture of Huson³ hung upon it in the

¹ Master of St. Paul's School.

² *i.e.* cipher. See January 18th. (M. B.)

³ John Hewson, who had been a shoemaker, became a colonel in the Parliament army, and sat in judgment on the King: he escaped hanging by flight, and died in 1662 at Amsterdam.

middle of the street. I called at Paul's Church-yard, where I bought Buxtorf's Hebrew Grammar ; and read a declaration of the gentlemen of Northampton which came out this afternoon. To Mr. Crew's about a picture to be sent into the country, of Mr. Thomas Crew, to my Lord. So to my Lady Wright to speak with her, but she was abroad, so Mr. Evans, her butler, had me in to his buttery, and gave me sack and a lesson on his lute, which he played very well. Hence I went to my Lord's and got most things ready against to-morrow, as fires and laying the cloth, and my wife was making of her tarts and larding of her pullets till eleven o'clock. This evening Mr. Downing sent for me, and gave me order to go to Mr. Jessop for his papers concerning his dispatch to Holland which were not ready, only his order for a ship to transport him he gave me. To my Lord's again and so home with my wife, tired with this day's work.

26th. To my office for £20 to carry to Mr. Downing, which I did and back again. Then came Mr. Frost to pay Mr. Downing his £500, and I went to him for the warrant and brought it Mr. Frost. Called for some papers at Whitehall for Mr. Downing, one of which was an Order of the Council for 1800*l.* per annum, to be paid monthly ; and the other two, Orders to the Commissioners of Customs, to let his goods pass free. Home from my office to my Lord's lodgings where my wife had got ready a very fine dinner—viz. a dish of marrow bones ; a leg of mutton ; a loin of veal ; a dish of fowl, three pullets, and two dozen of larks all in a dish ; a great tart, a neat's tongue, a dish of anchovies ; a dish of prawns and cheese. My company was my father, my uncle Fenner, his two sons, Mr. Pierce, and all their wives, and my brother Tom.¹

¹ Ob. 1663.

We were as merry as I could frame myself to be in the company, W. Joyce talking after the old rate and drinking hard, vexed his father and mother and wife. And I did perceive that Mrs. Pierce her coming so gallant, that it put the two young women quite out of courage. When it became dark they all went away but Mr. Pierce, and W. Joyce, and their wives and Tom, and drank a bottle of wine afterwards, so that Will did heartily vex his father and mother by staying. At which I and my wife were much pleased. Then they all went and I fell to writing of two characters for Mr. Downing, and carried them to him at nine o'clock at night, and he did not like them but corrected them, so that tomorrow I am to do them anew. To my Lord's lodging again and sat by the great log, it being now a very good fire, with my wife, and ate a bit and so home. The news this day is a letter that speaks absolutely Monk's concurrence with this Parliament, and nothing else, which yet I hardly believe. After dinner today my father showed me a letter from my Uncle Robert in answer to my last, concerning my money which I would have out of my Coz. Beck's hand, wherein Beck desires it four months longer, which I know not how to spare.

27th. Going to my office I met with Tom Newton, my old comrade, and took him to the Crowne in the Palace and gave him his morning draft. And as he always did, did talk very high what he would do with the Parliament, that he would have what place he would, and that he might be one of the Clerks to the Council if he would. Here I staid talking with him till the offices were all shut, and then I walked in the Hall, and was told by my bookseller, Mrs. Michell, that Mr. G. Montagu had inquired there for me. So I went to his house, and was forced by him to dine with him, and had a plenteous

brave dinner and the greatest civility that ever I had from any man. Thence home and so to Mrs. Jem, and played with her at cards, and coming home again my wife told me that Mr. Hawley had been there to speak with me, and seemed angry that I had not been at the office that day, and she told me she was afraid that Mr. Downing may have a mind to pick some hole in my coat. So I made haste to him, but found no such thing from him, but he sent me to Mr. Sherwin's about getting Mr. Squib to come to him to-morrow, and I carried him an answer. So home and fell a writing the characters for Mr. Downing, and about nine at night Mr. Hawley came, and after he was gone I sat up till almost twelve writing, and wrote two of them. In the morning up early and wrote another, my wife lying in bed and reading to me.

28th. I went to Mr. Downing and carried him three characters, and then to my office and wrote another, while Mr. Frost staid telling money. And after I had done it Mr. Hawley came into the office and I left him and carried it to Mr. Downing, who then told me that he was resolved to be gone for Holland this morning. So I to my office again, and dispatch my business there, and came with Mr. Hawley to Mr. Downing's lodging, and took Mr. Squib from White Hall in a coach thither with me, and there we waited in his chamber a great while, till he came in; and in the mean time, sent all his things to the barge that lay at Charing-Cross Stairs. Then came he in, and took a very civil leave of me, beyond my expectation, for I was afraid that he would have told me something of removing me from my office; but he did not, but that he would do me any service that lay in his power. So I went down and sent a porter to my house for my best fur cap, but he coming too late

with it I did not present it to him. Thence I went to Westminster Hall, and bound up my cap at Mrs. Michell's, who was much taken with my cap, and endeavoured to overtake the coach at the Exchange and to give it him there, but I met with one that told me that he was gone, and so I returned and went to Heaven,¹ where Luellin and I dined on a breast of mutton all alone, discoursing of the changes that we have seen and the happiness of them that have estates of their own, and so parted, and I went by appointment to my office and paid young Mr. Walton 500*l.*; it being very dark he took 300*l.* by content. He gave me half a piece and carried me in his coach to St. Clement's, from whence I went to Mr. Crew's and made even with Mr. Andrews, and took in all my notes and gave him one for all. Then to my Lady Wright and gave her my Lord's letter which he bade me give her privately. So home and then to Will's for a little news, then came home again and wrote to my Lord, and so to Whitehall and gave them to the post-boy. Back again home and to bed.

29th. In the morning I went to Mr. Gunning's, where he made an excellent sermon upon the 2d of the Galatians, about the difference that fell between St. Paul and St. Peter (the feast day of St. Paul being a day or two ago), whereby he did prove, that, contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church, St. Paul did never own any dependance, or that he was inferior to St. Peter, but that they were equal, only one a particular charge of preaching to the Jews, and the other to the Gentiles. Casting up my accounts, I do find myself to be worth £40 and more, which I did not think, but am afraid that I have forgot something.

30th. This morning, before I was up, I fell a-singing

¹ A place of entertainment in Old Palace-Yard, on the site of which the Committee-Rooms of the House of Commons now stand. It is called in Hudibras, "False Heaven, at the end of the Hall."

of my song, "Great, good, and just," &c.¹ and put myself thereby in mind that this was the fatal day, now ten years since, his Majesty died. Scull² the waterman came and brought me a note from the Hope from Mr. Hawley with direction, about his money, he tarrying there till his master be gone. To my office, where I received money of the excise of Mr. Ruddier, and after we had done went to Will's and staid there till 3 o'clock and then taking my £12 10s. 0d. due to me for my last quarter's salary, I went with them by water to London to the house where Sign^r Torriano used to be and staid there a while with Mr. Ashwell, Spicer and Ruddier. Then I went and paid £12 17s. 6d. due from me to Captⁿ Dick Matthews according to his direction the last week in a letter. After that I came back by water playing on my flageolette and not finding my wife come home again from her father's I went and sat awhile and played at cards with Mrs. Jem, whose mayde had newly got an ague and was ill thereupon. Thence home where I sat writing till bed-time and so to bed. There seems now to be a general cease of talk, it being taken for granted that Monk do resolve to stand to the Parliament, and nothing else. Spent a little time this night in knocking up nails for my hat and cloakes in my chamber.

31st. In the morning I fell to my lute till 9

¹ This is the beginning of Montrose's verses on the execution of Charles the First, which Pepys had probably set to music:—

"Great, good, and just, could I but rate
My grief and thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world to such a strain
That it should deluge once again.
But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from Briareus' hands, than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds."

² Query, whether from Scull the waterman is derived our word "sculls," well known to boating-men? (M. B.)

o'clock. Then to my Lord's lodgings and set out a barrel of soap to be carried to Mrs. Ann. Here I met with Nick Bartlet, one that had been a servant of my Lord's at sea and at Harper's gave him his morning draft. So to my office where I paid £1,200 to Mr. Frost and at noon went to Will's to give one of the Excise office a pot of ale that came to-day to tell over a bag of his that wanted £7 in it, which he found over in another bag. Then home and dined with my wife when in came Mr. Hawley newly come from shipboard from his master, and brought me a letter of direction what to do in his lawsuit with Squib about his house and office. After dinner to Westminster Hall, where all we clerks had orders to wait upon the Committee, at the Star Chamber that is to try Colonel Jones,¹ and were to give an account what money we had paid him; but the Committee did not sit to-day. I bought the answer to General Monk's letter, which is a very good one, and I keep it by me. Thence to Mrs. Jem, where I found her mayde in bed in a fit of the ague, and Mrs. Jem among the people below at work and by and by she came up hot and merry, as if they had given her wine, at which I was troubled, but said nothing; after a game at cards, I went home. Called in at Harper's and drank with Mr. Pulford, servant to Mr. Waterhouse, who tells me, that whereas my Lord Fleetwood² should have answered to the Parliament to-day, he wrote a letter and desired a little more

¹ Colonel John Jones, impeached, with General Ludlow and Miles Corbet, for treasonable practices in Ireland.

² Charles Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland during the Usurpation, became Cromwell's son-in-law by his marriage with Ireton's widow, and a member of the Council of State. He seemed disposed to have espoused Charles the Second's interests; but had not resolution enough to execute his design. At the Restoration he was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, and spent the remainder of his life in obscurity, dying soon after the Revolution.

time, he being a great way out of town. And how that he is quite ashamed of himself, and confesses how he had deserved this, for his baseness to his brother. And that he is like to pay part of the money, paid out of the Exchequer during the Committee of Safety, out of his own purse again, which I am glad on. Home and to bed, leaving my wife reading in *Polixandre*. I could find nothing in Mr. Downing's letter, which Hawley brought me, concerning my office; but I could discern that Hawley had a mind that I would get to be Clerk of the Council, I suppose that he might have the greater salary; but I think it not safe yet to change this for a public employment.

February 1st. In the morning went to my office where afterwards the old man brought me my letters from the carrier. At noon I went home and dined with my wife on pease porridge and nothing else. After that I went to the Hall and there met with Mr. Swan and went with him to Mr. Downing's Counsellor, who did put me in very little hopes about the business between Mr. Downing and Squib, and told me that Squib would carry it against him, at which I was much troubled, and with him went to Lincoln's Inn and there spoke with his attorney, who told me the day that was appointed for the trial. From thence to Mrs. Jem and spoke with Madam Scott and her husband who did promise to have the thing for her neck done this week. Thence home and took Gammer East, and James the porter, a soldier, to my Lord's lodgings, who told me how they were drawn into the field to-day, and that they were ordered to march away to-morrow to make room for General Monk; but they did shout their Colonel Fitch,¹ and the rest of the officers out of the

¹ Thomas Fitch, colonel of a regiment of foot in 1658, M.P. for Inverness.

field, and swore they would not go without their money, and if they would not give it them, they would go where they might have it, and that was the City. So the Colonel went to the Parliament, and commanded what money could be got, to be got against to-morrow for them, and all the rest of the soldiers in town, who in all places made a mutiny this day, and do agree together. Here I took some bedding to send to Mrs. Ann for her to lie in now she hath her fits of ague. Thence I went to Will's and staid like a fool there and played at cards till 9 o'clock and so came home, where I found Mr. Hunt and his wife who staid and sat with me till 10 and so good night.

2d. To my office, where I found all the officers of the regiments in town, waiting to receive money that their soldiers might go out of town, and what was in the Exchequer they had. Harper, Luellin, and I went to the Temple to Mr. Calthrop's chamber, and from thence had his man by water to London Bridge to Mr. Calthrop, a grocer, and received £60 for my Lord. In our way we talked with our waterman, White, who told us how the watermen had lately been abused by some that had a desire to get in to be watermen to the State, and had lately presented an address of nine or ten thousand hands to stand by this Parliament, when it was only told them that it was to a petition against hackney coaches; and that to-day they had put out another to undeceive the world and to clear themselves, and that among the rest Cropp, my waterman and one of great practice, was one that did cheat them thus. After I had received the money we went to the Bridge Taverne and drank a quart of wine and so back by water landing Mr. Calthrop's man at the Temple and we went homewards, but over against Somerset House, hearing the noise of guns, we landed and

found the Strand full of soldiers. So I took my money and went to Mrs. Johnson, my Lord's sempstress, and giving her my money to lay up, Doling and I went up stairs to a window, and looked out and saw the foot face the horse and beat them back, and stood bawling and calling in the street for a free Parliament and money. By and by a drum was heard to beat a march coming towards them, and they got all ready again and faced them, and they proved to be of the same mind with them; and so they made a great deal of joy to see one another. After all this, I took my money, and went home on foot and laid up my money, and changing my stockings and shoes, I having this day left off my great skirt suit, and put on my white suit with silver lace coat, and went over to Harper's, where I met with W. Simons, Doling, Luellin and three merchants, one of which had occasion to use a porter, so they sent for one, and James the soldier came, who told us how they had been all day and night upon their guard at St. James's, and that through the whole town they did resolve to stand to what they had began, and that to-morrow he did believe they would go into the City, and be received there. After this we went to a sport called, selling of a horse for a dish of eggs and herrings, and sat talking there till almost twelve at night.

3rd. Drank my morning draft¹ at Harper's, and was told there that the soldiers were all quiet upon

¹ "Though breakfast was the common indulgence of prosperous folk in Queen Elizabeth's time, it was not universally taken by all kinds of people. The 'morning draught' at the inn was, in fact, the ordinary breakfast of the majority of Englishmen at that time. Unless they bear this fact in mind, readers of old biographers are apt to attribute tavern-haunting propensities to sober and discreet gentlemen" (Pepys?), "who, though they always opened the day with drink and gossip at an ale-house, were no wastrels or ill-livers."
—JEAFFRESON, *a Book about the Table*, vol. i. p. 219. (M. B.)

promise of pay. Thence to St. James's Park, back to Whitehall, where in the guard-chamber I saw about thirty or forty 'prentices¹ of the City, who were taken at twelve o'clock last night and brought prisoners hither. Thence to my office, where I paid a little more money to some of the soldiers under Lieut.-Col. Miller (who held out the Tower against the Parliament after it was taken away from Fitch by the Committee of Safety, and yet he continued in his office). About noon Mrs. Turner came to speak with me and Joyce, and I took them and shewed them the manner of the Houses sitting, the door-keeper very civilly opening the door for us. Thence with my cozen Roger Pepys, it being term time, we took him out of the Hall to Prior's, the Rhenish wine-house, and there had a pint or two of wine and a dish of anchovies, and bespoke three or four dozen bottles of wine for him against his wedding. After this done he went away, and left me order to call and pay for all that Mrs. Turner would have. So we called for nothing more there, but went and bespoke a shoulder of mutton at Wilkinson's to be roasted as well as it could be done, and sent a bottle of wine home to my house. In the meantime she and I and Joyce went walking all over White Hall, whither General Monk was newly come, and we saw all his forces march by in very good plight and stout officers. Thence to my house where we dined, but with a great deal of patience, for the mutton came in raw, and so we were fain to stay the stewing of it. In the meantime we sat studying a Posy² for

¹ See Scott, "Fortunes of Nigel," at the end of chapter i. (M. B.)

² Contracted from poesy. A motto on a ring, or on anything else.

"A paltry ring

That she did give me, whose *posy* was

For all the world like cutler's poetry

Upon a knife, 'Love me and leave me not.'"

Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, act v. sc. 1. (M. B.)

a ring for her which she is to have at Roger Pepys his wedding. After dinner I left them and went to hear news, but only found that the Parliament House was most of them with Monk at White Hall, and that in his passing through the town he had many calls to him for a free Parliament, but little other welcome. I saw in the Palace Yard how unwilling some of the old soldiers were yet to go out of town without their money, and swore if they had it not in three days, as they were promised, they would do them more mischief in the country than if they had staid here; and that is very likely, the country being all discontented. The town and guards are already full of Monk's soldiers. I returned, and it growing dark I and they went to take a turn in the park, where Theoph. (who was sent for to us to dinner) outran my wife and another poor woman, that laid a pot of ale with me that she would outrun her. After that I set them as far as Charing Cross, and there left them and my wife, and I went to see Mrs. Ann, who began very high about a flock bed I sent her, but I took her down. Here I played at cards till 9 o'clock. So home and to bed.

4th. In the morning at my lute an hour, and so to my office, where I staid expecting to have Mr. Squib come to me, but he did not. At noon walking in the Hall I found Mr. Swan and got him and Captain Stone together, and there advised about Mr. Downing's business. So to Will's, and sat there till three o'clock and then to Mr. Swan's, where I found his wife in very genteel mourning for her father, and took him out by water to the Counsellor at the Temple, Mr. Stevens, and from thence to Gray's Inn, thinking to speak with Sother-ton Ellis, but found him not, so we met with an acquaintance of his in the walks, and went and drank, where I ate some bread and butter, having ate

nothing all day, while they were by chance discoursing of Marriot, the great eater, so that I was, I remember, ashamed to eat what I would have done. Here Swan shewed us a ballad to the tune of *Mardike* which was most incomparably wrote in a printed hand, which I borrowed of him, but the song proved but silly, so I did not write it out. Thence we went and I met with Spicer, Washington, and D. Vines in Lincoln's Inn Court, and they were buying of a hanging-jack to roast birds on of a fellow that was there selling of some. Thence to Sir Harry Wright's, and after that with a link-boy home and wrote letters into the country by the post, and then played a little on my lute, and so done, to supper and then to bed. All the news to-day is, that the Parliament this morning voted the House to be made up four hundred forthwith. My wife killed her turkeys that Mr. Shepley gave her, that came out of Zealand with my Lord, and could not get her mayde Jane by no means at any time to kill anything.

5th (Lord's day). In the morning to Mr. Gunning, where a stranger, an old man, preached a good honest sermon upon "What love is this that we should be called the sons of God." After sermon I could not find my wife, who promised to be at the gate against my coming out, and waited there a great while ; then I went to my father and found her there, and there I dined. To their church in the afternoon, and in Mrs. Turner's pew my wife took up a good black hood and kept it. A stranger preached a poor sermon, and so I read over the whole book of the story of Tobit. After sermon home with Mrs. Turner, staid with her a little while, then she went into the court to a christening and we to my father's, where I wrote some notes for my brother John to give to the Mercers to-morrow, it being the day of their apposition. After supper home, and before going

to bed I staid writing of this day its passages, while a drum came by, beating of a strange manner of beat, now and then a single stroke, which my wife and I wondered at, what the meaning of it should be. This afternoon at church I saw Dick Cumberland¹ newly come out of the country from his living, but did not speak to him.

6th. To Westminster, where we found the soldiers all set in the Palace Yard, to make way for General Monk to come to the House. I stood upon the steps and saw Monk go by, he making observance to the judges as he went along. At noon my father dined with me upon my turkey that was brought from Denmark, and after dinner he and I to the Bull Head Taverne, where we drank half a pint of wine and so parted. I to Mrs. Ann and Mrs. Jem being gone out of the chamber she and I had a very high bout, I rattled her up, she being in her bed, but she becoming more cool, we parted pretty good friends. Thence I went to Will's, where I staid at cards till 10 o'clock, losing half a crown, and so home to bed.

7th. In the morning I went early to give Mr. Hawley notice of my being forced to go into London, but he also having business, he and I walked as far as the Temple, where I halted a little and then went to Paul's School, but it being too soon I went and drank my morning draft with my cozen Tom Pepys the turner, and saw his house and shop, thence to school, where he that made the speech for the

¹ Richard Cumberland, of St. Paul's School, in his seventeenth year, was admitted a pensioner of Magdalene College in 1649, and in 1653 he was elected a Fellow of the College. See Diary, 18th March, 1667, where Pepys writes: "The truth is, if he would accept of my sister's fortune, I should give £100 more with him than to a man able to settle her four times as much as, I fear, he is able to do." He was made Bishop of Peterborough 1691, and died 1719, aged 86. (M. B.)

seventh form in praise of the founder, did show a book which Mr. Crumlum had lately got, which is believed to be of the Founder's own writing. After the speeches, in which my brother John came off as well as any of the rest, I went straight home and dined, then to the Hall, where in the Palace I saw Monk's soldiers abuse Billing and all the Quakers, that were at a meeting-place there, and indeed the soldiers did use them very roughly and were to blame. So after drinking with Mr. Spicer, who had received £600 for me this morning, I met Mr. Squib, but he would do nothing till to-morrow morning. Thence back on foot home, where I found a letter from my Lord in character,¹ which I construed, and went to Mr. Crew and advised with him about it, it being concerning my Lord's coming up to Town. Thence calling upon Mrs. Ann I went home, and wrote in character to my Lord in answer to his letter. This day Mr. Crew told me that my Lord St. John is for a free Parliament, and that he is very great with Monk, who hath now the absolute command and power to do any thing that he hath a mind to do. Boys do now cry "Kiss my Parliament," instead of "Kiss my rump," so great and general a contempt is the Rump come to among all the good and bad.

8th. A little practice on my flageolet, and afterwards walking in my yard to see my stock of pigeons, which begin now with the spring to breed very fast. I was called on by Mr. Fossan,² my fellow pupil at Cambridge, and I took him to the Swan in the Palace yard, and drank together our morning draft.

¹ *i. e.* in cipher. (M. B.)

² College Entry Book, Junij 27, 1651:—"Thomas flossan, filius Thomæ flossan, civis Londinensis, annum agens decimū Septimū e schola de St. Mary Axe apud Londinenses, admissus est Pensionarius, tutore Dno. Moreland." (M. B.)

Thence to my office, where I received money, and afterwards Mr. Carter, my old friend at Cambridge, meeting me as I was going out of my office I took him to the Swan, and in the way I met with Captain Lidcott, and so we three went together and drank there, the Captain talking as high as ever he did, and more because of the fall of his brother Thurlow.¹ Hence I went to Captain Stone, who told me how Squib had been with him, and that he could do nothing with him, so I returned to Carter and with him to Will's, where I spent upon him and Monsieur L'Impertinent, alias Mr. Butler, who I took thither with me, and thence to the Rhenish wine house, and in our way met with Mr. Hoole, where I paid for my cozen Roger Pepys his wine, and after drinking we parted. At home my wife's brother brought her a pretty black dog which I liked very well, and went away again. Hence sending a porter with the hamper of bottles to the Temple I called in my way upon Mrs. Jem, who was much frightened till I came to tell her that her mother was well. So to the Temple and thence to my father's, where he shewed me a base and angry letter from my uncle about my brother John, at which my father was very sad, but I comforted him and wrote an answer. My brother John has an exhibition granted him from the school. My father and I went down to his kitchen, and there we eat and drank, and about 9 o'clock I went away homewards, and in Fleete Street, received a great jostle from a man that had a mind to take the wall, which I could not help. I came home and to bed. Went to bed with my head not well by my too much drinking to-day, and I had a boil under my chin which troubled me cruelly.

¹ So spelt by Pepys, elsewhere Thurloe; he had been Secretary of State to the two Protectors. (M. B.)

9th. Before I was out of my bed, I heard the soldiers very busy in the morning, getting their horses ready where they lay at Hilton's, but I knew not then their meaning in so doing. In the Hall I understand how Monk is this morning gone into London with his army; and Mr. Fage told me that he do believe that Monk is gone to secure some of the Common-council of the City, who were very high yesterday there, and did vote that they would not pay any taxes till the House was filled up. I went to my office, where I wrote to my Lord after I had been at the Upper Bench, where Sir Robert Pye this morning came to desire his discharge from the Tower; but it could not be granted. After that I went to Mrs. Jem, who I had promised to go along with to her Aunt Wright's, but she was gone, so I went thither, and after drinking a glass of sack I went back to Westminster Hall, where meeting Swan I went with him by water to the Temple to our Counsel, and did give him a fee to make a motion to-morrow in the Exchequer for Mr. Downing. Thence to Westminster Hall, where I heard an action very finely pleaded between my Lord Dorset¹ and some other noble persons, his lady and other ladies of quality being there, and it was about 330*l. per annum*, that was to be paid to a poor Spittal, which was given by some of his predecessors; and given on his side. Thence Swan and I to a drinking-house near Temple Bar, where while he wrote I played on my flageolet till a dish of poached eggs was got ready for us, which we eat, and so by coach home. I called at Mr. Harper's, who told me how Monk had this day clapt up many of the Common-council, and that the Parliament had voted that he should pull down their gates and portcullisses, their posts and their chains,

¹ Richard, 5th Earl of Dorset, ob. 1677.

which he do intend to do, and do lie in the City all night. I went home and got some allum to my mouth, where I have the beginnings of a cancer, and had also a plaster to a boil underneath my chin.

10th. In the morning I went to Mr. Swan, who took me to the Court of Wards, where I saw the three Lords Commissioners sitting upon some cause where Mr. Scobell was concerned, and my Lord Fountaine took him up very roughly about some things that he said. After that we went to the Exchequer, where the Barons were hearing of causes, and there I made affidavit that Mr. Downing was gone into Holland by order of the Council of State, and this affidavit I gave to Mr. Stevens our lawyer. Thence to my office, where I got money of Mr. Hawley to pay the lawyer, and there found Mr. Lenard, one of the Clerks of the Council, and took him to the Swan and gave him his morning draft. Then home to dinner, and after that to the Exchequer, where I heard all the afternoon a great many causes before the Barons; in the end came ours, and Squib proved clearly by his patent that the house and office did now belong to him. Our lawyer made some kind of opposition, but to no purpose, and so the cause was found against us, and the foreman of the Jury brought in £10 damages, which the whole Court cried shame of, and so he cried 12*d*. Thence I went home, vexed about this business, and there found Mr. Moore, and with him went into London to Mr. Fage about the cancer in my mouth, which begins to grow dangerous. He told me what Monk had done in the City, how he had pulled down the most part of the gates and chains that they could break down, and that he was now gone back to White Hall. The City look mighty blank, and cannot tell what in the world to do; the Parliament having this day ordered that the Common-council sit

no more, but that new ones be chosen according to what qualifications they shall give them.

11th. This morning I lay long abed, and then to my office, where I read all the morning my Spanish book of Rome. At noon I walked in the Hall, where I heard the news of a letter from Monk, who was now gone into the City again, and did resolve to stand for the sudden filling up of the House, and it was very strange how the countenance of men in the Hall was all changed with joy in half an hour's time. So I went up to the lobby, where I saw the Speaker reading of the letter; and after it was read, Sir A. Haselrigge came out very angry, and Billing standing at the door, took him by the arm, and cried, "Thou man, will thy beast carry thee no longer? thou must fall!" The House presently after rose, and appointed to meet again at three o'clock. I went then down into the Hall, where I met with Mr. Chetwind, who had not dined no more than myself, and so we went toward London, in our way calling at two or three shops, but could have no dinner, At last, within Temple Bar, we found a pullet ready roasted, and there we dined. After that he went to his office, where I sat in his study singing, while he was with his man. Thence we took coach for the City to Guildhall, where the Hall was full of people expecting Monk and Lord Mayor to come thither, and all very joyfull. Met Monk coming out of the chamber where he had been with the Mayor and Aldermen, but such a shout I never heard in all my life, crying out, "God bless your Excellence." Here I met with Mr. Lock, and took him to an ale-house, and left him there to fetch Chetwind; when we were come together, Lock told us the substance of the letter that went from Monk to the Parliament; wherein, after complaints that he and his officers were put upon such offices against the City as they could not do with any

content or honour, it states, that there are many members now in the House that were of the late tyrannical Committee of Safety. That Lambert and Vane are now in town, contrary to the vote of Parliament. That there were many in the House that do press for new oaths to be put upon men ; whereas we have more cause to be sorry for the many oaths that we have already taken and broken. That the late petition of the fanaticque people presented by Barebone, for the imposing of an oath upon all sorts of people, was received by the House with thanks. That therefore he¹ do desire that all writs for filling up of the House be issued by Friday next, and that in the mean time, he would retire into the City and only leave them guards for the security of the House and Council. The occasion of this was the order that he had last night to go into the City and disarm them, and take away their charter ; whereby he and his officers say that the House had a mind to put them upon things that should make them odious ; and so it would be in their power to do what they would with them. He told us that the Parliament had sent Scott and Robinson to Monk this afternoon, but he would not hear them. And that the Mayor and Aldermen had offered their own houses for himself and his officers ; and that his soldiers would lack for nothing. And indeed I saw many people give the soldiers drink and money, and all along in the streets cried, " God bless them ! " and extraordinary good words. Hence we went to a merchant's house hard by, where I saw Sir Nich. Crisp,² and so we went to the Star Tavern, (Monk being then at Benson's.) In Cheapside there was a great many

¹ Monk.

² An eminent merchant, and one of the farmers of the customs. He had advanced large sums to assist Charles I., who created him a baronet. He died February, 1667, aged 67.

bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was every where to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one view tell thirty-one fires. In King-street seven or eight; and all along burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May Pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side. Thence home and sent my letters to the post-house in London, and my wife and I went out again to show her the fires, and after walking as far as the Exchange we returned and to bed.

12th. In the morning, it being Lord's day, to White Hall, where Dr. Hones preached; but I staid not to hear, but walking in the court, I heard that Sir Arth. Haselrigge was newly gone into the City to Monk, and that Monk's wife removed from White Hall last night. After dinner I heard that Monk had been at Paul's in the morning, and the people had shouted much at his coming out of the church. In the afternoon he was at a church in Broad-street, whereabout he do lodge. But not knowing how to see him we went and walked half a hour in Moor-fields, which were full of people, it being so fine a day. Here I took leave of them, and so to Paul's, where I met with Mr. Kirton's apprentice (the

crooked fellow) and walked up and down with him two hours, sometimes in the streete looking for a taverne to drink in, but not finding any open, we durst not knock; other times in the churchyard, where one told me that he had seen the letter printed. So to my father's, where Charles Glascocke was overjoyed to see how things are now; who told me the boys had last night broke Barebone's¹ windows.

13th. To my office till noon, then home. After dinner I took my wife to my father's, in my way I went to Playford's, and for two books that I had and 6s. 6d. to boot, I had my great book of songs which he sells always for 14s. At my father's I staid a while, while my mother sent her mayde Bess to Cheapside for some herbs to make a water for my mouth. Then I went to see Mr. Cumberland, and after a little stay with him I returned, and took my wife home, where after supper to bed. This day Monk was invited to White Hall to dinner by my Lords; not seeming willing, he would not come. I went to Mr. Fage from my father's, who had been this afternoon with Monk, who do promise to live and die with the City, and for the honour of the City; and indeed the City is very open-handed to the soldiers, that they are most of them drunk all day, and have money given them.

14th. My wife, hearing Mr. Moore's voice in my dressing-chamber, got herself ready, and came down and challenged him for her valentine, this being the day. To Westminster Hall, there being many new remonstrances and declarations from many counties to Monk and the City, and one coming from the

¹ Praise-God Barebones, an active member of the Parliament called by his name. About this period he had appeared at the head of a band of fanatics, and alarmed Monk, who well knew his influence.

North from Sir Thomas Fairfax.¹ I heard that the Parliament had now changed the oath so much talked of to a promise; and that among other qualifications for the members that are to be chosen, one is, that no man, nor the son of any man that hath been in arms during the life of the father, shall be capable of being chosen to sit in Parliament. To Will's, where like a fool I staid and lost 6*d.* at cards. So home, and wrote a letter to my Lord by the post. So after supper to bed. This day, by an order of the House, Sir H. Vane was sent out of town to his house in Lincolnshire.

15th. Called up in the morning by Captain Holland and Captain Cuttance. With them to Harper's, thence to my office, thence with Mr. Hill of Worcestershire to Will's, where I gave him a letter to Nan Pepys, and some merry pamphlets against the Rump to carry to her into the country. So to Mr. Crew's, where the dining room being full, Mr. Walgrave and I dined below in the buttery by ourselves upon a good dish of buttered salmon. So to Mrs. Jem and sat with her, who dined at Mr. Crew's to-day, and told me that there were at her coming away at least forty gentlemen (I suppose members that were secluded, for Mr. Walgrave told me that there were about thirty met there the last night) came dropping in one after another thither. No news to-day, but all quiet to see what the Parliament will do about the issuing of the writs to-morrow for the filling up of the House, according to Monk's desire.

16th. In the morning at my lute. Then came Shaw and Hawley, and I gave them their morning draft at my house. So to my office, where I wrote by the carrier to my Lord and sealed my letter at Will's, and gave it old East to carry it to the carrier's, and to

¹ Thomas Lord Fairfax, mentioned before.

take up a box of china oranges and two little barrels of scallops at my house, which Captain Cuttance sent to me for my Lord. Here I met with Osborne and with Shaw and Spicer, and we went to the Sun Taverne in expectation of a dinner, where we had sent us only two trencherfulls of meat, at which we were very merry, and here we staid till seven at night, I winning a quart of sack of Shaw that one trencherfull that was sent us was all lamb and he that it was veal. I by having but 3*l*. in my pocket made shift to spend no more, whereas if I had had more I had spent more as the rest did, so that I see it is an advantage to a man to carry little in his pocket. Home, and after supper, and a little at my flute, I went to bed.

17th. In the morning came Mr. Hills the instrument maker, and I consulted with him about the altering my lute and my viall. After him I went into my study and made up my accounts, and found that I am about 40*l*. beforehand in the world, and that is all. After dinner I went to Mr. Gunning's to his weekly fast, and after sermon, meeting there with Monsieur L'Impertinent, we went and walked in the park till it was dark. I played on my pipe at the Echo, and then drank a cup of ale at Jacob's. So to Westminster Hall, where I heard that some of the members of the House was gone to meet with some of the secluded members and General Monk in the City. Hence to White Hall, thinking to hear more news, where I met with Mr. Hunt, who told me how Monk had sent for all his goods that he had here, into the City; and yet again he told me, that some of the members of the House had this day laid in firing into their lodgings at White Hall for a good while, so that we are at a great stand to think what will become of things, whether Monk will stand to the Parliament or no.

18th. A great while at my vial and voice, learning to sing "Fly boy, fly boy," without book. So to my office, where little to do. Home to dinner, and then went to my Lord's lodgings to my turret there and took away most of my books, and sent them home by my mayde. Then I to Mr. Wotton's, and with him to an ale-house and drank, while he told me a great many stories of comedies that he had formerly seen acted, and the names of the principal actors, and gave me a very good account of it. This day two soldiers were hanged in the Strand for their late mutiny at Somerset-house.

19th. (Lord's day). Early in the morning I set my books that I brought home yesterday up in order in my study. Thence forth to Mr. Harper's to drink a draft of Purle, whither by appointment Monsieur L'Impertinent, who did intend too upon my desire to go along with me to St. Bartholomew's, to hear one Mr. Sparkes, but it raining very hard we went to Mr. Gunning's and heard an excellent sermon, and speaking of the character that the Scripture gives of Ann the mother of the blessed Virgin, he did there speak largely in commendation of widowhood, and not as we do to marry two or three wives or husbands, one after another. Here I met with Mr. Moore, and went home with him to dinner, where he told me the discourse that happened between the secluded members and the members of the House, before Monk last Friday. How the secluded said, that they did not intend by coming in to express revenge upon these men, but only to meet and dissolve themselves, and only to issue writs for a free Parliament. He told me how Haselrigge was afraid to have the candle carried before him, for fear that the people seeing him, would do him hurt; and that he is afraid to appear in the City. That there is great likelihood that the secluded members will come in, and so

Mr. Crew and my Lord are likely to be great men, at which I was very glad. After dinner there was many secluded members come in to Mr. Crew, which, it being the Lord's day, did make Mr. Moore believe that there was something extraordinary in the business. Hence home and brought my wife to Mr. Mossum's to hear him, and indeed he made a very good sermon, but only too eloquent for a pulpit. After sermon to my father's, and fell into discourse concerning our going to Cambridge the next week with my brother John. So home, and it raining my wife got my mother's French mantle and my brother John's hat, and so we went all along home and to bed.

20th. In the morning at my lute. Then to my office, where my partner and I made even our balance. Took him home to dinner with me, where my brother John came to dine. After dinner I took him into my study at home and at my Lord's, and gave him some books and other things against his going to Cambridge. After he was gone I went forth to Westminster Hall, where I met with Chetwind, Simons, and Gregory.¹ And with them to Marsh's at Whitehall to drink, and staid there a pretty while reading a pamphlet well writ and directed to General Monk, in praise of the form of monarchy which was settled here before the wars. They told me how the Speaker Lenthall do refuse to sign the writs for choice of new members in the place of the excluded; and by that means the writs could not go out to-day. In the evening Simons and I to the Coffee Clubb, where nothing to do only I heard Mr. Harrington, and my Lord of Dorset and another Lord, talking of getting another place as the Cockpit, and they did believe it would come to something.

¹ Mr. Gregory was, in 1672, Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham.

After a small debate upon the question whether learned or unlearned subjects are the best the Clubb broke up very poorly, and I do not think they will meet any more. Hence with Vines, &c. to Wills, and after a pot or two home, and so to bed.

21st. In the morning going out I saw many soldiers going towards Westminster, and I was told that they were going to admit the secluded members again. So I to Westminster Hall, and in Chancery Row I saw about twenty of them who had been at White Hall with General Monk, who came thither this morning, and made a speech to them, and recommended to them a Commonwealth, and against Charles Stuart. They came to the House and went in one after another, and at last the Speaker came. But it is very strange that this could be carried so private, that the other members of the House heard nothing of all this, till they found them in the House, insomuch that the soldiers that stood there to let in the secluded members, they took for such as they had ordered to stand there to hinder their coming in. Mr. Prin¹ came with an old basket-hilt sword on, and had a great many great shouts upon his going into the Hall. They sat till noon, and at their coming out Mr. Crew saw me, and bid me come to his house and dine with him, which I did; and he very joyful told me that the House had made General Monk, General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that upon Monk's desire, for the service that Lawson had lately done in pulling down the Committee of Safety, he had the command of the Sea for the time being. He advised me to send for my Lord forthwith, and told me that there is no question that, if he will, he may now be employed

¹ William Prynne, the lawyer, well known by his voluminous publications, and the persecution which he endured. He was M.P. for Bath, 1660, and died 1669.

again ; and that the House do intend to do nothing more than to issue writs, and to settle a foundation for a free Parliament. After dinner I back to Westminster Hall with him in his coach. Here I met with Mr. Lock and Pursell,¹ Masters of Musique, and with them to the Coffee House, into a room next the water, by ourselves, where we spent an hour or two till Captain Taylor came and told us, that the House had voted the gates of the City to be made up again, and the members of the City that are in prison to be set at liberty ; and that Sir G. Booth's² case be brought into the House to-morrow. Here we had variety of brave Italian and Spanish songs, and a canon for eight voices, which Mr. Lock had lately made on these words : " Domine salvum fac Regem," an admirable thing. Here out of the window it was a most pleasant sight to see the City from one end to the other with a glory about it, so high was the light of the bonfires, and so thick round the City, and the bells rang everywhere. Hence home and wrote to my Lord, afterwards came down and found Mr. Hunt (troubled at this change) and Mr. Spong, who staid late with me singing of a song or two, and so parted. This morning I met in the Hall with Mr. Fuller, of Christ's, and told him of my design to go to Cambridge, and whither. He told me very freely the temper of Mr. Widdrington, how he did oppose all the fellows in the College, and that there was a great distance between him and the rest, at which I was very sorry, for that he told me he feared it would be little to my brother's advantage to be his pupil.

22nd. In the morning intended to have gone to Mr. Crew's to borrow some money, but it raining I

¹ Matthew Locke and Henry Purcell, both celebrated composers.

² Of Dunham Massey, Bart., created Baron Delamer, 1661, for his services in behalf of the King.

forebore, and went to my Lord's lodging and look that all things were well there. Then home and sang a song to my viall, so to my office and to Will's, where Mr. Pierce found me out, and told me that he would go with me to Cambridge, where Colonel Ayre's regiment, to which he was surgeon, lieth. Walking in the Hall, I saw Major General Brown,¹ who had a long time been banished by the Rump, but now with his beard overgrown, he comes abroad and sat in the House. To my father's to dinner, where nothing but a small dish of powdered beef² and dish of carrots; they being all busy to get things ready for my brother John to go to-morrow. After dinner, my wife staying there, I went to Mr. Crew's, and got 5*l.* of Mr. Andrews, and so to Mrs. Jemimah, who now hath her instrument about her neck, and indeed is infinitely altered, and holds her head upright. I paid her mayde 40*s.* of the money that I have received of Mr. Andrews. Hence home to my study, where I only wrote thus much of this day's passages to this * and so out again. To White Hall, where I met with Will. Simons and Mr. Mabbot at Marsh's, who told me how the House had this day voted that the gates of the City should be set up at the cost of the State. And that Major-General Brown's being proclaimed a traitor be made void, and several other things of that nature. Home for my lanthorn and so to my father's, where I directed John what books to put for Cambridge. After that to supper, where my Uncle

¹ Richard Brown, a Major-General of the Parliament forces, Governor of Abingdon, and Member for London in the Long Parliament. He had been imprisoned by the Rump Faction.

² *Powdered beef.* To *powder* is to salt; therefore powdered beef is "salted beef."

"*Falstaff.* Embowelled! if thou embowel me to-day, I'll give you leave to *powder* me and eat me to-morrow."—SHAKESPEARE, I *Henry IV.* Act v. sc. 4. (M. B.)

Fenner and Aunt, The. Turner, and Joyce, at a brave leg of veal roasted, and were very merry against John's going to Cambridge. I observed this day how abominably Barebone's windows are broke again last night.

23rd. Thursday, my birthday, now twenty-seven years. A pretty fair morning, and after writing awhile in my study I went forth. To my office, where I told Mr. Hawley of my thoughts to go out of town to-morrow. Hither Mr. Fuller comes to me and my Uncle Thomas too, thence I took them to drink, and so put off my uncle. So with Mr. Fuller home to my house, where he dined with me, and he told my wife a great many stories of his adversities, since these troubles, in being forced to travel in the Catholic countries, &c. He shewed me his bills, but I had not money to pay him. We parted, and I to Whitehall, where I was to see my horse which Mr. Garthwayt lends me to-morrow. So home, where Mr. Pierce comes to me about appointing time and place where and when to meet to-morrow. So to Westminster Hall, where, after the House rose, I met with Mr. Crew, who told me that my Lord was chosen by 73 voices, to be one of the Council of State. Mr. Pierpoint¹ had the most, 101, and himself the next, 100. He brought me in the coach home. I back to the Hall, and at Mrs. Michell's shop staid talking a great while with her and my Chaplain, Mr. Mumford, and drank a pot or two of ale on a wager that Mr. Prin is not of the Council. Home and wrote to my Lord the news of the choice of the Council by the post, and so to bed.

24th. I rose very early, and taking horse at Scotland Yard, at Mr. Garthwayt's stable, I rode to Mr.

¹ William Pierrepont, M. P. of Thoresby, second son to Robert, first Earl of Kingston, ob. 1679, aged 71.

Pierce's, who rose, and in a quarter of an hour, leaving his wife in bed (with whom Mr. Lucy methought was very free as she lay in bed), we both mounted, and so set forth about seven of the clock, the day and the way very foul. About Ware we overtook Mr. Blayton, brother-in-law to Dick Vines, and at Puckeridge we baited, where we had a loin of mutton fried, and were very merry, but the way exceeding bad from Ware thither. Then up again and as far as Foulmer, within six miles of Cambridge, my mare being almost tired: here we lay at the Chequer, playing at cards till supper, which was a breast of veal roasted. I lay with Mr. Pierce, who we left here the next morning upon his going to Hinchingbroke to speak with my Lord before his going to London, and we two came to Cambridge.

25th. By eight o'clock in the morning to the Faulcon,¹ in the Petty Cury,² where we found my father and brother very well. After dressing myself, about ten o'clock, my father, brother, and I to Mr. Widdrington,³ at Christ's College, who received us

¹ *The Faulcon.* The old Falcon Inn is on the south side of Petty Cury. It is now divided into three houses, one of which is the present Falcon Inn, the other two being houses with shops. The Falcon yard is but little changed. From the size of the whole building it must have been the principal inn of the town. The room said to have been used by Queen Elizabeth for receptions retains its original form. (M. B.)

² *The Petty Cury.* The derivation of the name of this street, so well known to all Cambridge men, is a matter of much dispute among antiquaries. (See *Notes and Queries.*) The most probable meaning of it is the *Parva Cokeria*, or *little cury*, where the cooks of the town lived, just as "The Poultry," where the Poulterers (now Poulterers) had their shops. "*The Forme of Cury*," a Roll of Antient English Cookery, was compiled by the principal cooks of that "best and royalest viander of all Christian Kings," Richard the Second, and edited with a copious Index and Glossary by Dr. Samuel Pegge, 1780. (M. B.)

³ Mr. Widdrington was afterwards Dr. Widdrington, Lady Margaret's Professor, and Public Orator. He seems to have taken an

very civilly, and caused my brother to be admitted,¹ while my father, he, and I, sat talking. After that done, we take leave. My father and brother went to visit some friends, Pepys's, scholars in Cambridge, while I went to Magdalen College, to Mr. Hill,² with whom I found Mr. Zanchy, Burton³ and Hollins, and was exceeding civilly received by them. I took leave on promise to sup with them, and to my Inn again, where I dined with some others that were there at an ordinary. After dinner my brother to the College, and my father and I to my Cozen Angier's, to see them, where Mr. Fairbrother to us. Here we sat awhile talking. My father he went to look after his things at the carrier's, and my brother's chamber, while Mr. Fairbrother,⁴ my Cozen Angier, and Mr. Zanchy,⁵ whom I met at Merton's shop (where I bought

active part in University affairs, and is frequently mentioned in books of the time. (M. B.)

¹ Extract from admission-book of Christ's College, Cambridge :
"Febr. 25^o. 1660.

"Johannes a Johanne Pepys Londini natus literas edoctus a D^{no} Crumbleholm Scholæ Paulinæ Moderatore annos natus 18 admissus est Sizator sub M^{ro}. Widdrington.

"Hic cum prius admissus est in Collegium Magdalense Maii 26^{to}. ut ex literis testimonialibus constat ejusdem etiam anni apud nos habendus est." (M. B.)

² Joseph Hill, made Fellow of Magdalene College in 1649.

(M. B.)

³ Hezekiah Burton. His admission to a Wray Fellowship is curious :

"Mar. 8. 1650.

"Hezekias Burton in Artibus Baccalaureus hujus Collij, auctoritate ordinationis Parliamentariæ, admissus est in sodalium M^{ri}. Johannis David, eadem auctoritate vacant." The last word is not quite clear. (M. B.)

⁴ Mr. Fairbrother, afterwards Dr. Fairbrother, was Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and taken prisoner at the battle of Naseby. (M. B.)

⁵ Clement Zanchy, admitted at Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1648, and Foundation Fellow, 1654. At the College meetings he spelt his name "Zanchy," at first, but in 1656 he changed it to "Sankey," and it is sometimes spelt "Sanchy." (M. B.)

Elenchus Motuum, having given my former to Mr. Downing when he was here), to the Three Tuns, where we drank pretty hard and many healths to the King, &c., till it began to be darkish : then we broke up and I and Mr. Zanchy went to Magdalen College, where a very handsome supper at Mr. Hill's chambers, I suppose upon a club among them, where I could find that there was nothing at all left of the old preciseness in their discourse, specially on Saturday nights. And Mr. Zanchy told me that there was no such thing now-a-days among them at any time. After supper and some discourse then to my Inn, where I found my father in his chamber, and after some discourse, and he well satisfied with this day's work, we went to bed, my brother lying with me, his things not being come by the carrier that he could not lie in the College.

26th. (Sunday). My brother went to the College to Chapel. My father and I went out in the morning, and walked out in the fields behind King's College, and in King's College Chapel Yard, where we met with Mr. Fairbrother, who took us to Botolph's Church, where we heard Mr. Nicholas, of Queen's College, who I knew in my time to be Tripos¹ with great applause, upon this text, "For thy commandments are broad." Thence my father and I to Mr. Widdrington's chamber to dinner, where he used us very courteously again, and had two Fellow Commoners with him at table, and Mr.

¹ The Tripos or Bachelor of the Stool, who made the speech on Ash Wednesday, when the senior Proctor called him up and exhorted him to be witty but modest withall. Their speeches, especially after the Restoration, tended to be boisterous, and even scurrilous. "26 Martii 1669. D^s Hollis, fellow of Clare Hall is to make a publick Recantation in the Bac. Schools for his Tripos speeche." The Tripos verses still come out, and are circulated on Ash Wednesday. I am told that this year (1875) one of the copies was more scurrilous than usual. (M. B.)

Pepper, a Fellow of the College. After dinner, while we sat talking by the fire, Mr. Pierce's man [came] to tell me that his master was come to town, so my father and I took leave, and found Mr. Pierce at our Inn, who told us that he had lost his journey, for my Lord was gone from Hinchinbroke to London on Thursday last, at which I was a little put to a stand. So after a cup of drink I went to Magdalen College to get the certificate of the College for my brother's entrance there, that he might save his year. I met with Mr. Burton in the Court, who took me to Mr. Pechell's chamber, where he was and Mr. Zanchy. By and by, Mr. Pechell and Sanchey and I went out, Pechell to Church, Sanchy and I to the Rose Taverne,¹ where we sat and drank till sermon done, and then Mr. Pechell came to us, and we three sat drinking the King's and his whole family's health till it began to be dark. Then we parted; Sanchy and I went to my lodging, where we found my father and Mr. Pierce at the door, and I took them both and Mr. Blayton to the Rose Taverne, and there gave them a quart or two of wine, not telling them that we had been there before. After this we broke up, and my father, Mr. Zanchy, and I to my Cosen Angier to supper, where I caused two bottles of wine to be carried from the Rose Taverne; that was drunk up, and I had not the wit to let them know at table that it was I that paid for them, and so I lost my thanks for them. After supper Mr. Fairbrother, who supped there with us, took me into a room by himself, and shewed me a pitiful copy of verses upon Mr. Prinn which he esteemed very good, and desired that I would get them given to Mr. Prinn, in hopes that he would get him some place for it, which I said I

¹ The "Rose Tavern" opened on the Market Hill at the end of Rose Crescent. (M. B.)

would do, but did laugh in my sleeve to think of his folly, though indeed a man that has always expressed great civility to me. After that we sat down and talked ; I took leave of all my friends, and so to my Inn, where after I had wrote a note and enclosed the certificate to Mr. Widdrington, I bade good night to my father, and John went to bed, but I staid up a little while, playing the fool with the lass of the house at the door of the chamber, and so to bed.

27th. Up by four o'clock, and after I was ready, took my leave of my father, whom I left in bed, and the same of my brother John, to whom I gave 10s. Mr. Blayton and I took horse and straight to Saffron Walden, where at the White Hart, we set up our horses, and took the master of the house to shew us Audly End House, who took us on foot through the park, and so to the house, where the housekeeper shewed us all the house, in which the stateliness of the ceilings, chimney-pieces, and form of the whole was exceedingly worth seeing. He took us into the cellar, where we drank most admirable drink, a health to the King. Here I played on my flageolette, there being an excellent echo. He shewed us excellent pictures ; two especially, those of the four Evangelists and Henry VIII. After that I gave the man 2s. for his trouble, and went back again. In our going, my landlord carried us through a very old hospital or almshouse, where forty poor people was maintained ; a very old foundation ; and over the chimney-piece was an inscription in brass : "Orate pro animâ Thomæ Bird," &c.¹ ; and the poor box also was on the same chimney-piece, with an iron door and locks to it, into which I put 6d. They brought me a draft of their drink in a brown bowl, tipt with silver, which I drank off, and at the bottom was a

¹ The inscription and the bowl are still to be seen in the almshouse.

picture of the Virgin and the child in her arms, done in silver. So we went to our Inn, and after eating of something, and kissed the daughter of the house, she being very pretty, we took leave, and so that night, the road pretty good, but the weather rainy to Eping, where we sat and played a game at cards, and after supper, and some merry talk with a plain bold mayde of the house, we went to bed.

28th. Up in the morning and had some red herrings to our breakfast, while my boot-heel was a-mending, by the same token the boy left the hole as big as it was before. Then to horse, and for London through the forest, where we found the way good, but only in one path, which we kept as if we had rode through a kennel all the way. We found the shops all shut, and the militia of the red regiment in arms at the old Exchange, among whom I found and spoke to Nich. Osborne, who told me that it was a thanksgiving-day through the City for the return of the Parliament. At Paul's I light, Mr. Blayton holding my horse, where I found Dr. Reynolds in the pulpit, and General Monk there, who was to have a great entertainment at Grocers' Hall. So home, where my wife and all well. Shifted myself,¹ and so to Mr. Crew's, and then to Sir Harry Wright's, where I found my Lord at dinner, who called for me in, and was glad to see me. I dined here with Will. Howe, and after dinner went out with him to buy a hat, which we did at the Plough in Fleete Streete by my Lord's direction, but not as for him. Here we met with Mr. Pierce a little before, and he took us to the Greyhound Taverne, and gave us a pint of wine, and as the rest of the seamen do, talked very high again of my Lord. After we had done about the hat we went homewards, I to Mrs. Jem, and sat with her

¹ A common expression, still used in Derbyshire for "changed my dress." (M. B.)

a little. Then home, where I found Mr. Shepley, and afterwards Mr. Spong comes, with whom I went up and played with him a Duo or two, and so good night. I was indeed a little vexed with Mr. Shepley, but said nothing, about his breaking open of my study at my house, merely to give him the key of the stair door at my Lord's, which lock he might better have broke than mine.

29th. To my office, and drank at Wills with Mr. Moore, who told me how my Lord is chosen General at Sea by the Council, and that it is thought that Monk will be joined with him therein. Home and dined, after dinner my wife and I by water to London, and thence to Herring's, the merchant in Coleman Street, about £50 which he promises I shall have on Saturday next. So to my mother's, and then to Mrs. Turner's of whom I took leave, because she was to go out of town to-morrow with Mr. Pepys into Norfolk. Here my cosen Norton gave me a brave cup of metheglin, the first I ever drank. So home and to bed. This day my Lord came to the House, the first time since he came to town ; but he had been at the Council before.

March 1st. In the morning went to my Lord's lodgings, and out of the box where my Lord's pamphlets lay, I chose as many as I had a mind to have for my own use and left the rest. Then to my office, where little to do, but Mr. Shepley comes to me, so at dinner time he and I went to Mr. Crew's, whither Mr. Thomas was newly come to town, being sent with Sir H. Yelverton, my old school-fellow at Paul's School, to bring the thanks of the county to General Monk for the return of the Parliament. But old Mr. Crew and my Lord not coming home to dinner, we tarried late before we went to dinner, it being the day that John, Mr. John Crew's coachman, was to be buried in the afternoon, he being a day or two before

killed with a blow of one of his horses that struck his skull into his brain. From thence Mr. Shepley and I went into London to Mr. Laxton's, my Lord's apothecary, and so by water to Westminster, where at the Sun he and I spent two or three hours in a pint or two of wine, discoursing of matters in the country, among other things telling me that my uncle did to him make a very kind mention of me, and what he would do for me. Thence I went home, and went to bed betimes. This day the Parliament did vote that they would not sit longer than the 15th day of this month.

2d. I went early to my Lord at Mr. Crew's where I spoke to him. Here were a great many come to see him, as Secretary Thurlow¹ who is now by the Parliament chosen again Secretary of State. There were also General Monk's trumpeters to give my Lord a sound of their trumpets this morning. Thence I went to my office, and wrote a letter to Mr. Downing about the business of his house. Then going home, I met with Mr. Eglin, Chetwind, and Thomas, who took me to the Leg in King's streete, where we had two brave dishes of meat, one of fish, a carp and some other fishes, as well done as ever I eat any. After that to the Swan taverne, where we drank a quart or two of wine, and so parted. After that to Westminster Hall, where I saw Sir G. Booth at liberty. This day I hear the City militia is put into good posture, and it is thought that Monk will not be able to do any great matter against them now, if he have a mind. I understand that my Lord Lambert did yesterday send a letter to the Council, and that to-night he is to come and appear to the

¹ John Thurloe, who had been Secretary of State to the two Protectors, but was never employed after the Restoration, though the King solicited his services. Ob. 1668.

Spelt Thurlow by Pepys. (M. B.)

Council in person. Sir Arthur Haselrigge do not yet appear in the House. Great is the talk of a single person, and that it would now be Charles, George, or Richard again.¹ For the last of which, my Lord St. John is said to speak high. Great also is the dispute now in the House, in whose name the writs shall run for the next Parliament; and it is said that Mr. Prin, in open House, said, "In King Charles's."²

3d. To Westminster Hall, where I found that my Lord was last night voted one of the Generals at Sea, and Monk the other. I met my Lord in the Hall, who bid me come to him at noon. Up to my office, but did nothing. At noon home to dinner to a sheep's head. After dinner I to Warwick House, in Holborne, to my Lord, where he dined with my Lord of Manchester³ Sir Dudley North,⁴ my Lord Fiennes,⁵ and my Lord Barkly.⁶ I staid in the great hall, talking with some gentlemen there, till they all come out. Then I, by coach with my Lord, to Mr. Crew's, in our way talking of publick things. He told me he feared there was new design hatching,

¹ Charles II., or George Monk, or Richard Cromwell. (M.B.)

² Compare a letter of Mr. Luttrell to Ormond, March 9th, 1660, in Carte's Letters, vol. ii. p. 312: "Yesterday there was a debate about the form of the dissolution, when M^r. Prynne asserted the King's right in such bold language that I think he may be styled the Cato of this age."—*Notes and Queries*, vol. x. p. 2.

(M. B.)

³ The Parliamentary General, afterwards particularly instrumental in the King's Restoration, became Chamberlain of the Household, K. G., a Privy Councillor, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He died in 1671, having been five times married.

⁴ Sir Dudley North, K. B., became the 4th Lord North on the death of his father in 1666. Ob. 1677.

⁵ John, third son of William, 1st Viscount Say and Sele, and one of Oliver's Lords.

⁶ George, 13th Lord Berkeley, created Earl Berkeley 1679. He was a Privy Councillor, and had afterwards the management of the Duke of York's family. Ob. 1698.

as if Monk had a mind to get into the saddle. Here I left him, and went by appointment to Herring, the merchant, but missed of my money, at which I was much troubled, but could not help myself. Returning, met with Mr. Gifford who took me and gave me half a pint of wine, and told me, as I hear from many, that things are in a very doubtful posture, some of the Parliament being willing to keep the power in their hands. After I had left him, I met with Tom Harper, who took me into a place in Drury Lane, where we drank a great deal of strong water, more than ever I did in my life at one time before. He talked huge high that my Lord Protector would come in place again, which indeed is much discoursed of again, though I do not see it possible. Hence home and wrote to my father at Brampton by the post. So to bed. This day I was told that my Lord General Fleetwood told my Lord that he feared the King of Sweden is dead of a fever at Gottenburg.

4th. Lord's day. Before I went to church I sang Orpheus' Hymn to my viall. After that to Mr. Gunning's, an excellent sermon upon charity. Then to my mother to dinner, where my wife and the mayde were come. After that we three to Mr. Messum's where we met Mons. L'Impertinent, who got us a seat and told me a ridiculous story how that last week he had caused a simple citizen to spend £80 in entertainments of him and some friends of his upon pretence of some service that he would do him in his suit after a widow. Then to my mother again, and after supper she and I talked very high about religion, I in defence of the religion I was born in. Then home.

5th. Early in the morning Mr. Hill comes to string my theorbo, which we were about till past ten o'clock, with a great deal of pleasure. Then to Westminster, where I met with Mr. Shepley and

Mr. Pinkney at Will's, who took me by water to Billingsgate, at the Salutation Taverne, whither by-and-by, Mr. Talbot and Adams came, and bring a great deal of good meat, a ham of bacon, &c. Here we staid and drank. Then we parted, and so to Westminster by water, only seeing Mr. Pinkney at his own house, where he shewed me how he had alway kept the Lion and Unicorne, in the back of his chimney, bright, in expectation of the King's coming again. At home I found Mr. Hunt, who told me how the Parliament had voted that the Covenant be printed and hung in churches again. Great hopes of the King's coming again. To bed.

6th. (Shrove Tuesday.) I called Mr. Shepley and we both went up to my Lord's lodgings at Mr. Crew's, where he bid us to go home again, and get a fire against an hour after. Which we did at White Hall, whither he came, and after talking with him and me about his going to sea, he called me by myself into the garden, where he asked me how things were with me; he bid me look out now at this turn some good place, and he would use all his own, and all the interest of his friends that he had in England, to do me good. And asked me whether I could, without too much inconvenience, go to sea as his secretary, and bid me think of it. He also began to talk of things of State, and told me that he should want one in that capacity at sea, that he might trust in, and therefore he would have me to go. He told me also, that he did believe the King would come in, and did discourse with me about it. and about the affection of the people and City, at which I was full glad. To my office, where Mr. Hawley brought one to me, a seaman, that had promised £10 to him if he get him a purser's place, which I think to endeavour to do. Here comes my uncle Tom, whom I took to Will's and drank with,

poor man, he comes to inquire about the knights of Windsor, of which he desires to get to be one. While we were drinking, in comes Mr. Day, a carpenter in Westminster, to tell me that it was Shrove Tuesday, and that I must go with him to their yearly Clubb upon this day, which I confess I had quite forgot. So I went to the Bell, where were Mr. Eglin, Veezy, Vincent a butcher, one more, and Mr. Tanner, with whom I played upon a viall, and he a viallin, after dinner, and were very merry, with a special good dinner, a leg of veal and bacon, two capons and sausages and fritters, with abundance of wine. After that I went to see Mrs. Jem, at whose chamber door I found a couple of ladies, but she not being there, we hunted her out, and found that she and another had hid themselves behind a door. Well, they all went down into the dining-room, where it was full of tag, rag, and bobtail, dancing, singing, and drinking, of which I was ashamed, and after I had staid a dance or two I went away. Going home, called at my Lord's for Mr. Shepley, but found him at the Lion with a pewterer, that he had bought pewter to-day of. With them I drank, and so home and wrote by the post, by my Lord's command, for I. Goods to come up presently. For my Lord intends to go forthwith into the Swiftsure till the Nazeby be ready. This day I hear that the Lords do intend to sit, and great store of them are now in town, and I see in the Hall to-day. Overton at Hull do stand out, but can, it is thought, do nothing; and Lawson, it is said, is gone with some ships thither, but all that is nothing. My Lord told me, that there was great endeavours to bring in the Protector again; but he told me, too, that he did believe it would not last long if he were brought in; no, nor the King neither (though he seems to think that he will come in), unless he carry

himself very soberly and well. Every body now drink the King's health without any fear, whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it. Monk this day is feasted at Mercers' Hall, and is invited one after another to all the twelve Halls in London. Many think that he is honest yet, and some or more think him to be a fool that would raise himself, but think that he will undo himself by endeavouring it. My mind, I must needs remember, has been very much eased and joyed at my Lord's great expressions of kindness this day.

7th. (Ash Wednesday). Washington told me upon my question whether he knew of any place now void that I might have, by power over friends, that this day Mr. G. Montagu¹ was to be Custos Rotulorum for Westminster, and that by friends I might get to be named by him Clerk of the Peace, with which I was, as I am at all new things, very much joyed, so when I came to Mr. Crew's, I spoke to my Lord about it, who told me he believed Mr. Montagu had already promised it, and that it was given him only that he might gratify one person with the place I look for. Here, among many that were here, I met with Mr. Lynes, the surgeon, who promised me some seeds of the sensitive plant. Thence going homeward, my Lord overtook me in his coach, and called me in, and so I went with him to St. James's, and G. Montagu being gone to White Hall, we walked over the Park thither, all the way he discoursing of the times, and of the change of things since the last year, and wondering how he could bear with so great disappointment as he did. He did give me the best advice that he could what was best for me, whether to stay or go with him, and offered all the ways that could be, how he might do

¹ George Montagu, afterwards M.P. for Dover, second son of Edward, second Earl of Manchester, and father of the first Earl of Halifax.



me good, with the greatest liberty and love that could be. I left him at Whitehall, and myself went to Westminster to my office, where nothing to do. Thence by appointment to the Angel in King Street, where Chetwind, Mr. Thomas and Doling were at oysters, and beginning Lent this day with a fish dinner. After dinner Mr. Thomas and I by water to London, where I went to Herring's and received the £50 of my Lord's upon Frank's bill from Worcester. Thence I went to the Pope's Head Alley and called on Adam Chard, and bought a catcall there, it cost me two groats. Thence went and gave him a cup of ale. After that to the Sun behind the Exchange, where meeting my uncle Wight by the way, took him thither, and after drinking a health or two at the Cock, we parted, I homewards, where I found my father newly come from Brampton. He left my uncle with his leg very dangerous, and do believe he cannot continue in that condition long. He tells me that my uncle did acquaint him very largely what he did intend to do with his estate, to make me his heir and give my brother Tom some thing, and that my father and mother should have likewise something, to raise portions for John and Pall. I pray God he may be as good as his word. This news and my Lord's great kindness makes me very cheerful within. I pray God make me thankful. This day, according to order, Sir Arthur¹ appeared at the House; what was done I know not, but there was all the Rumpers almost come to the House to-day. My Lord did seem to wonder much why Lambert was so willing to be put into the Tower, and thinks he has some design in it; but I think that he is so poor that he cannot use his liberty for debts, if he were at liberty; and so it is as good and better for him to be there, than any where else.

8th. To Westminster Hall, where there was a

¹ Haselrigge.

general damp over men's minds and faces upon some of the Officers of the Army being about making a remonstrance against Charles Stuart or any single person; but at noon it was told, that the General had put a stop to it, so all was well again. Here I met with Jasper who was to look for me to bring me to my Lord at the lobby; whither sending a note to my Lord, he comes out to me and gives me direction to look after getting some money for him from the Admiralty, seeing that things are so unsafe, that he would not lay out a farthing for the State, till he had received some money of theirs. Home about two o'clock, and took my wife by land to Paternoster Row, to buy some Paragon for a petticoat and so home again. I to the Admiralty, where I got the order for the money, and have taken care for the getting of it assigned upon Mr. Hutchinson, Treasurer for the Navy, against to-morrow. This afternoon, some of the Officers of the Army, and some of the Parliament, had a conference at White Hall to make all right again, but I know not what is done. This noon I met at the Dog tavern Captain Philip Holland, with whom I advised how to make some advantage of my Lord's going to sea, which he told me might be by having of five or six servants entered on board, and I to give them what wages I pleased, and so their pay to be mine; he was also very urgent to have me take the Secretary's place, that my Lord did proffer me. At the same time in comes Mr. Wade and Mr. Sterry, secretary to the plenipotentiary in Denmark, who brought the news of the death of the King of Sweden¹ at Gottenburgh the 3rd of the last month, and he told me what a great change he found when he came here, the secluded members being restored. He also spoke very freely of Mr. Wade's profit, which he made

¹ Charles Gustavus.

while he was in Zeeland, how he did believe that he cheated Mr. Powell, and that he made above £500 on the voyage, which Mr. Wade did very angrily deny, though I believe he was guilty enough.

9th. To my Lord at his lodging, and came to Westminster with him in the coach, with Mr. Dudley with him, and he in the Painted Chamber walked a good while ; and I telling him that I was willing and ready to go with him to sea, he agreed that I should, and advised me what to write to Mr. Downing about it, which I did at my office, that by my Lord's desire I offered that my place might for a while be supplied by Mr. Moore, and that I and my security should be bound by the same bond for him. In the afternoon by coach, taking Mr. Butler with me to the Navy Office, about the £500 for my Lord, which I am promised to have to-morrow morning. After this Mr. Butler and I to Harper's, where we sat and drank for two hours till ten at night. Home and to bed. All night troubled in my thoughts how to order my business upon this great change with me that I could not sleep, and being overheated with drink I made a promise the next morning to drink no strong drink this week, for I find that it puts me quite out of order. This day it was resolved that the writs do go out in the name of the Keepers of the Liberty, and I hear that it is resolved privately that a treaty be offered with the King. And that Monk did check his soldiers highly for what they did yesterday.

10th. In the morning went to my father's, whom I took in his cutting house, and there I told him my resolution to go to sea with my Lord, and consulted with him how to dispose of my wife, and we resolved of letting her be at Mr. Bowyer's. Thence to the Treasurer of the Navy, where I received £500 for my Lord. Then by coach home, where I took

occasion to tell my wife of my going to sea, who was much troubled at it, and was with some dispute at last willing to continue at Mr. Bowyer's in my absence. Then to Whitehall and set many of my things in order against my going. My wife was late making of caps for me, and the wench making of a pair of stockings that she was knitting of. So to bed.

11th. (Sunday). All the day busy without my band, putting up my books and things, in order to my going to sea. At night my wife and I went to my father's to supper, and after supper home, where the wench had provided all things against to-morrow to wash, and so to bed.

12th. This day the wench rose at two in the morning to wash, and my wife and I lay talking a great while. My wife and I to the Exchange, where we bought a great many things, where I left her and went into London. To the White Horse in King Streete, where I got Mr. Buddle's horse to ride to Huntsmore to Mr. Bowyer's, where I found him and all well, and willing to have my wife come and board with them while I was at sea. Here I lay and took a thing for my cold, namely a spoonful of honey and a nutmeg scraped into it, by Mr. Bowyer's direction, and so took it into my mouth, which I found did do me much good.

13th. At my Lord's lodgings, who told me that I was to be secretary, and Creed to be deputy treasurer to the Fleet, at which I was troubled, but I could not help it. This day the Parliament voted all that had been done by the former Rump against the House of Lords be void, and to-night that the writs go out without any qualification. Things seem very doubtful what will be the end of all; for the Parliament seems to be strong for the King, while the soldiers do all talk against.

14th. To my Lord, where infinity of applications to him and to me. To my great trouble, my Lord gives me all the papers that was given to him, to put in order and to give him an account of them. Here I got half-a-piece of a person of Mr. Wright's recommending to my Lord to be Preacher of the Speaker frigate. I went hence to St. James's and Mr. Pierce the surgeon with me, to speake with Mr. Clerke, Monk's secretary, about getting some soldiers removed out of Huntingdon to Oundle, which my Lord told me he did to do a courtesy to the town, that he might have the greater interest in them, in the choice of the next Parliament; not that he intends to be chosen himself, but that he might have Mr. G. Montagu and my Lord Mandevill chose there in spite of the Bernards. This done (where I saw General Monk and methought he seemed a dull heavy man), Pierce and I to Whitehall, where with Luellin we dined at Marsh's. Coming home telling my wife what we had to dinner, she had a mind to some cabbage, and I sent for some and she had it. Went to the Admiralty, where a strange thing how I am already courted by the people. This morning I hired a boy and Burr to be my clerk. This night I went to Mr. Creed's chamber where he gave me the former book of the proceedings in the fleete and the Seale. By coach, it raining hard, to Mrs. Jem, where I staid a while, and so home, and late in the night put up my things in a sea-chest that Mr. Shepley lent me, and so to bed.

15th. Early packing up my things to be sent by cart with the rest of my Lord's. So to Wills, where I took leave of some of my friends. Here I met Tom Alcock, one that went to school with me at Huntingdon, but I had not seen him these sixteen years. So in the Hall paid and made even with Mrs. Michell; afterwards met with old Beale, and

at the Axe paid him this quarter to Ladyday next. So into London by water, and in Fish Street my wife and I bought a bit of salmon for 8*d*. and went to the Sun Taverne and eat it, where I did promise to give her all that I have in the world but my books, in case I should die at sea. From thence homewards; in the way my wife bought linen for three smocks and other things. So home. Then to the Fox in King-streete to supper on a brave turkey of Mr. Hawley's, with some friends of his. After supper I went to Westminster Hall, and the Parliament sat till ten at night, thinking and being expected to dissolve themselves to-day, but they did not. Great talk to-night that the discontented officers did think this night to make a stir, but prevented.

16th. No sooner out of bed but troubled with abundance of clients, seamen. Then to Mr. Shepley, to the Rhenish Taverne House, where Mr. Pim, the tailor, was, and gave us a morning draft and a neat's tongue. Home and with my wife to London, we dined at my father's. In my way home I went to the Chapel in Chancery Lane to bespeak papers of all sorts and other things belonging to writing against my voyage. Then to Westminster Hall, where I heard how the Parliament had this day dissolved themselves, and did pass very cheerfully through the Hall, and the Speaker without his mace. The whole Hall was joyfull thereat, as well as themselves, and now they begin to talk loud of the King. To-night I am told, that yesterday, about five o'clock in the afternoon, one came with a ladder to the Great Exchange, and wiped with a brush the inscription that was on King Charles, and that there was a great bonfire made in the Exchange, and people called out "God bless King Charles the Second!" From the Hall I went home to bed, very sad in mind to part with my wife, but God's will be done.

17th. This morning bade adieu in bed to the company of my wife. We rose and I gave my wife some money to serve her for a time, and what papers of consequence I had. I went to my Lord's and had much business with him, and papers, great store, given me by my Lord to dispose of as the rest. After that, with Mr. Moore home to my house and took my wife by coach to the Chequer in Holborne, where, after we had drank, &c., she took coach and so farewell. Thence with Mr. Hawley to dinner at Mr. Crew's. After dinner to my own house, where all things were put into the dining-room and locked up, and my wife took the keys along with her. This day, in the presence of Mr. Moore (who made it) and Mr. Hawley, I did before I went out with my wife, seal my will to her, whereby I did give her all that I have in the world, but my books which I give to my brother John, excepting only French books, which my wife is to have. In the evening at the Admiralty, I met my Lord there and got a commission for Williamson to be captain of the Harp frigate. I went home with Crispe to his mother's house by me in Axe Yard, and sat there talking and hearing of old Mrs. Crispe playing of her old lessons upon the harpsicord. After that to bed, and Laud, her son, lay with me in the best chamber in her house, which indeed was finely furnished.

18th. I rose early and went to the barber's (Jervas) in Palace Yard and was trimmed by him, and afterwards drank with him a cup or two of ale, and did begin to hire his man to go with me to sea. Then to my Lord's lodging where I found Captain Williamson and gave him his commission to be Captain of the Harp, and he gave me a piece of gold and 20s. in silver. Thence to Mr. Mossum's, where he made a very gallant sermon upon "Pray for the life of the King and the King's son." (Ezra vi. 10.) Met

with Mr. Woodfine, who took me to an alehouse in Drury Lane, and we sat and drank together, and eat toasted cakes which were very good, and we had a great deal of mirth with the mistress of the house about them. From thence homewards, and called at Mr. Blgrave's, where I took up my note that he had of mine for 40s., which he two years ago did give me as a pawn while he had my lute. So to Mrs. Crispe, where she and her daughter and son and I sat talking till ten o'clock at night, I giving them the best advice that I could concerning their son, how he should go to sea, and so to bed.

19th. Early to my Lord, where infinity of business to do, which makes my head full; and indeed, for these two or three days, I have not been without a great many cares. After that to the Admiralty, where a good while with Mr. Blackburne, who told me that it was much to be feared that the King would come in, for all good men and good things were now discouraged. Thence to Wilkinson's, where Mr. Shepley and I dined; and while we were at dinner, my Lord Monk's lifeguard came by with the Serjeant at Armes before them, with two Proclamations, that all Cavaliers do depart the town; but the other that all officers that were lately disbanded should do the same. The last of which Mr. R. Creed, I remember, said, that he looked upon it as if they had said, that all God's people should depart the town. Thence with some sea officers to the Swan, where we drank till one comes to me to pay me some money, viz., £25. So home, and left my money there. All the discourse now-a-day is, that the King will come again; and for all I see, it is the wishes of all; and all do believe that it will be so. My mind is still much troubled for my poor wife, but I hope that this undertaking will be worth my pains. This day my Lord dined at my Lord

Mayor's (Allen), and Jaspar was made drunk, which my Lord was very angry at.

20th. This morning I rose early and went to my house to put things in a little order against my going, which I conceive will be to-morrow. After that to my Lord, where I found very great deal of business, he giving me all letters and papers that come to him about business, for me to give him account of when we come on shipboard. So to the Bull Head, whither W. Simmons and I gave him and others my foy¹ against my going to sea; and so we took leave one of another, they promising to write to me to sea. Hither comes Pim's boy, by my direction, with two monteeres² for me to take my choice of, and I chose the saddest colour and left the other for Mr. Shepley. Thence by coach to London, and took a short melancholy leave of my father and mother, without having them to drink, or say anything of business one to another. Then to West-

¹ *Foy*. A feast given by one who is about to leave a place. In Kent, according to Grose, a treat to friends, either at going abroad or coming home. See *Diary*, 25th November, 1661: "To Westminster with Captain Lambert, and there he did at the Dog give me and some other friends of his, his *foy*, he being to set sail to-day towards the Streights." There is an inn at Ramsgate still called the *Foy* Boat. (M. B.)

² *Monteeres*, *montero* (Spanish), a kind of huntsman's cap. "His hat was like a helmet, or Spanish *montero*."—BACON. Sterne introduces the *montero* cap into his "Tristram Shandy." It occurs in a curious description of two worthies in the *Currant Intelligence*, March 6-9, 1682: "Samuel Smith, Scrivener in Grace Church Street, London, about 26 years old, crook backed, of short stature, red hair, hath a black periwig, and sometimes a light one, pale complexion, pock-holed full face, a *mountier* cap with a scarlet ribbon and one of the same colour on his cravat and sword, a light coloured campaign coat faced with blue shag, in company with his brother John Smith, who has a slit in his nose, a tall lusty man, red hair, a sad grey campaign coat, a lead colour suit lined with red, they were mounted, one on a flea-bitten grey, the other on a light bay horse." (M. B.)

minster, where by reason of rain and an easterly wind, the water was so high that there was boats rowed in King Street and all our yard was drowned, that one could not go to my house, so as no man has seen the like almost, most houses full of water. Then back by coach to my Lord's, and staid waiting for my Lord's coming in till very late. Then Shepley, I, and William Howe went with our swords to bring my Lord home from Sir H. Wright's. He resolved to go to-morrow if the wind ceased. I home by coach to Mrs. Crispe, who had sat over a good supper long looking for me. So we sat talking and laughing till it was very late, and so Laud and I to bed.

21st. To my Lord's, but the wind very high against us, and the weather bad we could not go to day; here I did very much business, and then to my Lord Widdrington's from my Lord, with his desire that he might have the disposal of the writs of the Cinque Ports. My Lord was very civil to me, and called for wine, and writ a long letter in answer. Thence to Crispe's, where we were very merry; the old woman sent for a supper for me, and gave me a handkercher with strawberry buttons on it, and so to bed.

22nd. Up very early and took leave of Mrs. Crispe and her daughter (who was in bed). Then to my Lord's lodging, but the weather continuing very bad my Lord would not go to-day. After that I went forth about my own business to buy a pair of riding grey serge stockings and sword and belt and hose, and after that took Wotton and Brigden to the Pope's Head Taverne in Chancery Lane, where Gilb. Holland and Shelston were, and we dined and drank a great deal of wine, and they paid all. Strange how these people do now promise me everything; one a rapier, the other a vessel of wine or a gun, and

one offered me his silver hatband to do him a courtesy. I pray God to keep me from being proud or too much lifted up hereby. After that to Westminster, and received my warrant of Mr. Blackburne, to be Secretary to the two Generals of the Fleet. Then to take my leave of the Clerks of the Council. This day Mr. Shepley went away on board and I sent my boy with him. This day also Mrs. Jemim: went to Marrowbone, so I could not see her.

23rd. Up early, carried my Lord's will in a black box to Mr. William Montagu for him to keep for him. Then to the barber's and put on my cravat. So to my Lord again. Hither came Gilb. Holland, and brought me a stick rapier and Shelston a sugar-loaf. Young Reeve also brought me a little perspective glass which I bought for my Lord, it cost me 8s. My Lord, Captain Isham, Mr. Thomas, John Crew, W. Howe, and I to the Tower, where the barges staid for us; my Lord and the Captain in one, and W. Howe and I, &c., in the other, to the Long Reach, where the Swiftsure lay at anchor; (in our way we saw the great breach which the late high water had made, to the loss of many £1000 to the people about Limehouse.) Soon as my Lord on board, the guns went off bravely from the ships. And a little while after comes the Vice-Admiral Lawson, and seemed very respectful to my Lord, and so did the rest of the Commanders of the frigates that were thereabouts. I to the cabin allotted for me, which was the best that any had that belonged to my Lord. I got out some things out of my chest for writing and to work presently, Mr. Burr and I both. I supped at the deck table with Mr. Shepley. We were late writing of orders for the getting of ships ready, &c.; and also making of others to all the sea-ports between Hastings and Yarmouth, to stop all

dangerous persons that are going or coming between Flanders and there. After that to bed in my cabin, which was but short; however I made shift with it and slept very well, and the weather being good I was not sick at all yet, I know not what I shall be.

24th. At work hard all the day writing letters to the Council, &c. This day Mr. Creed came on board and dined very boldly with my Lord. The boy Eliezer flung down a can of beer upon my papers which made me give him a box of the ear, it having all spoiled my papers and cost me a great deal of work. So to bed.

25th. About two o'clock in the morning, letters came from London by our Coxon, so they waked me, but I would not rise but bid him stay till morning, which he did, and then I rose and carried them in to my Lord, who read them a-bed. Among the rest, there was the writ and mandate for him to dispose to the Cinque Ports for choice of Parliament-men. There was also one for me from Mr. Blackburne, who with his own hand superscribes it to S. P. Esq., of which God knows I was not a little proud. After that I wrote a letter to the Clerk of Dover Castle, to come to my Lord about issuing of those writs. About ten o'clock Mr. Ibbott, at the end of the long table, begun to pray and preach and indeed made a very good sermon, upon the duty of all Christians to be stedfast in faith. After that Captain Cuttance and I had oysters, my Lord being in his cabin not intending to stir out to-day. After that up into the great cabin above to dinner with the Captain, where was Captain Isham and all the officers of the ship. I took place of all but the Captain; after dinner I wrote a great many letters to my friends at London. After that, sermon again, at which I slept, God forgive me!

26th. This day it is two years since it pleased God

that I was cut for the stone at Mrs. Turner's¹ in Salisbury Court. And did resolve while I live to keep it a festival, as I did the last year at my house, and for ever to have Mrs. Turner and her company with me. But now it pleases God that I am where I am and so prevented to do it openly; only within my soul I can and do rejoice, and bless God, being at this time, blessed be his holy name, in as good health as ever I was in my life. This morning I rose early, and went about making of an establishment of the whole Fleet, and a list of all the ships, with the number of men and guns. About an hour after that, we had a meeting of the principal commanders and seamen, to proportion out the number of these things. All the afternoon very many orders were made, till I was very weary. At night Mr. Shepley and W. Howe came and brought some bottles of wine and some things to eat in my cabin, where we were very merry, remembering the day of being cut for the stone. Captain Cuttance came afterwards and sat drinking a bottle of wine till eleven, a kindness he do not usually do the greatest officer in the ship. After that to bed.

27th. Early in the morning at making a fair new establishment of the Fleet to send to the Council. This morning, the wind came about, and we fell into the Hope, and in our passing by the Vice-Admiral, he and the rest of the frigates with him, did give us abundance of guns and we them, so much that the report of them broke all the windows in my cabin and broke off the iron bar that was upon it to keep anybody from creeping in at the Scuttle. This noon I sat the first time with my Lord at table since my coming to sea. All the afternoon exceeding busy in writing of letters and orders. In the

¹ Mrs. Turner was the sister of Edward Pepys.

afternoon, Sir Harry Wright¹ came on board us, about his business of being chosen a Parliament-man. My Lord brought him to see my cabin, when I was hard a-writing. At night supped with my Lord too, with the Captain.

28th. This morning and the whole day busy. At night there was a gentleman very well bred, his name was Banes, going for Flushing, who spoke French and Latin very well, brought by direction from Captain Clerke hither, as a prisoner, because he called out of the vessel that he went in, "Where is your King, we have done our business, Vive le Roi." He confessed himself a Cavalier in his heart, and that he and his whole family had fought for the King; but that he was then drunk, having been all night taking his leave at Gravesend the night before, and so could not remember what it was that he said; but in his words and carriage showed much of a gentleman. My Lord had a great kindness for him, but did not think it safe to release him, but commanded him to be used civilly, so he was taken to the Master's Cabin and had supper there. In the meantime I wrote a letter to the Council about him, and an order for the vessel to be sent for back that he was taken out of. But a while after, he sent a letter down to my Lord, which my Lord did like very well, and did advise with me what was best to be done. So I put in something to my Lord and then to the Captain that the gentleman was to be released and the letter stopped, which was done. So I went up and sat and talked with him in Latin and French, and drank a bottle or two with him; and about eleven at night he took boat again, and so

¹ M.P. for Harwich. He married Anne, daughter of Lord Crewe, and sister to Lady Sandwich, and resided at Dagenham, Essex; he was created a Baronet by Cromwell, 1658, and by Charles II., 1660.

God bless him. Thence I to my cabin and to bed. This day we had news of the election at Huntingdon for Bernard¹ and Pedly, at which my Lord was much troubled for his friends' missing of it.

29th. We lie still a little below Gravesend. At night Mr. Shepley returned from London, and told us of several elections for the next Parliament. That the King's effigies was new making to be set up in the Exchange again. This evening was a great whispering that some of the Vice-Admiral's captains were dissatisfied, and did intend to fight themselves, to oppose the General. But it was soon hushed, and the Vice-Admiral did wholly deny any such thing, and protested to stand by the General.

30th. I was saluted in the morning with two letters, from some that I had done a favour to, which brought me in each a piece of gold. This day, while my Lord and we were at dinner, the Nazeby came in sight towards us, and at last came to anchor close by us. After dinner my Lord and many others went on board her, where every thing was out of order, and a new chimney made for my Lord in his bed-chamber, which he was much pleased with. My Lord, in his discourse, discovered a great deal of love to this ship.²

31st. This morning Captain Jowles of the Wexford came on board, for whom I got commission from my Lord to be commander of the ship. Upon the doing thereof he was to make the 20s. piece that he sent me yesterday, up £5; wherefore he sent me a bill that he did owe me £4. I sent my boy to Graves-

¹ John Bernard and Nicholas Pedley, re-elected in the next Parliament.

Sir Edward Montagu had set up Lord Mandeville, the Earl of Manchester's eldest son, and Mr. G. Montagu. (M. B.)

² Lord Sandwich's flag was on board the "Naseby" when he went to the Sound.

end with him, and he did give the boy £4 for me, and the boy gave him the bill under his hand. This morning, Mr. Hill that lives in Axe-yard was here. I did give him a bottle of wine, and was exceedingly satisfied of the power that I have to make my friends welcome. Many orders to make all the afternoon.

April 1st (Lord's day). Mr. Ibbott¹ preached very well. After dinner my Lord did give me a private list of all the ships that were to be set out this summer, wherein I do discern that he hath made it his care to put by as much of the Anabaptists as he can. By reason of my Lord and my being busy to send away the packet by Mr. Cooke of the Nazeby, it was four o'clock before we could begin sermon again. This day Captain Guy come on board from Dunkirk, who tells me that the King will come in, and that the soldiers at Dunkirk do drink the King's health in the streets. I made a commission for Captain Wilgness, of the Bear, to-night, which got me 30s.

2d. Up very early, and to get all my things and my boy's packed up. Great concourse of commanders here this morning to take leave of my Lord upon his going into the Nazeby, so that the table was full, so there dined below many commanders, and Mr. Creed, who was much troubled to hear that he could not go along with my Lord. After dinner I went in one of the boats with my boy before my Lord, and made shift before night to get my cabin in pretty good order. It is but little, but very convenient, having one window to the sea and another to the deck, and a good bed. This morning comes Mr. Ed. Pickering,² like a coxcomb as he always was. He tells me that the King will come in, but that Monk did

¹ Minister of Deal, 1676.—PEPYS'S *MS. Letters*.

² Brother to Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart.

resolve to have the doing of it himself, or else to hinder it.

3d. There come many merchants to get convoy to the Baltique, which a course was taken for. They dined with my Lord, and one of them by name Alderman Wood talked much to my Lord of the hopes that we have now to be settled, (under the King he meant); but my Lord took no notice of it. This day came the Lieutenant of the Swiftsure (who was sent by my Lord to Hastings, one of the Cinque Ports, to have got Mr. Edward Montagu to have been one of their burgesses, but could not, for they were all promised before). After he had done his message, I took him and Mr. Pierce, the surgeon (who this day came on board, and not before), to my cabin, where we drank a bottle of wine. At night, busy a-writing, and so to bed. My heart exceeding heavy for not hearing of my dear wife, and indeed I do not remember that ever my heart was so apprehensive of her absence as at this very time.

4th. This morning came Colonel Thomson with the wooden leg, and General Pen, and dined with my Lord and Mr. Blackburne, who told me that it was certain now that the King must of necessity come in, and that one of the Council told him there is something doing in order to a treaty already among them. And it was strange to hear how Mr. Blackburne did already begin to commend him for a sober man, and how quiet he would be under his government, &c. The Commissioners came to-day, only to consult about a further reducement of the Fleet, and to pay them as fast as they can. I did give Davis, their servant, £5 10s. to give to Mr. Moore from me, in part of the £7 that I borrowed from him, and he is to discount the rest out of the 36s. that he do owe me. At night, my Lord resolved to send the Captain of our ship to Weymouth and pro-

mote his being chosen there, which he did put himself into a readiness to do the next morning.

5th. Infinity of business all the morning of orders to make, that I was very much perplexed that Mr. Burr had failed me of coming back last night, and we ready to set sail, which we did about noon, and came in the evening to Lee roads and anchored. This afternoon Creed brought me £30, which my Lord ordered him to pay me upon account, and Captain Clerke brought me a noted caudle. At night very sleepy to bed.

6th. This morning came my brother-in-law Balty to see me, and to desire to be here with me as *Reformado*,¹ which did much trouble me. But after dinner (my Lord using him very civilly, at table) I spoke to my Lord, and he presented me a letter to Captain Stokes for him that he should be there. All the day with him walking and talking, we under sail as far as the Spitts. In the afternoon, W. Howe and I to our viallins, the first time since we came on board. In the evening, it being fine, I staid late walking with Mr. Cuttance upon the quarter-deck, learning of some sea terms; and so to supper and to bed.

7th. This day, about nine o'clock in the morning, the wind grew high, and we being among the sands lay at anchor; I began to be dizzy and squeamish. Before dinner my Lord sent for me down to eat some oysters, the best my Lord said that ever he ate in his life, though I have eat as good at Bardsey. After dinner, and all the afternoon I walked upon the deck to keep myself from being sick, and at last

¹ *Reformado*, "a broken or disbanded officer." Boyer translates "*Officier reformé*, a *reformado*." See *Diary*, Oct. 1st, 1660: "Mr. Mansell, a poor *reformado* of the Charles." See Ben Jonson's *Epicene*: "His knights Reformadoes a wound up as high and insolent as ever they were." See also *Every Man in his Humour*, act iii. sc. 2. (M. B.)

about five o'clock, went to bed and got a caudle made me, and sleep upon it very well.

8th (Lord's day). Very calm again, and I pretty well, but my head aaked all day. About noon set sail; in our way I see many barks and masts, which are now the greatest goods for ships. We had a brave wind all the afternoon, and overtook two good merchantmen that overtook us yesterday, going to the East Indies. The lieutenant and I lay out of his window with his glass, looking at the women that were on board them, being pretty handsome. This evening Major Willoughby, who had been here three or four days on board with Mr. Pickering, went on board a catch¹ for Dunkirke.

9th. We having sailed all night, were come in sight of the Nore and South Forelands in the morning, and so sailed all day. In the afternoon we had a very fresh gale, which I brooked better than I thought I should be able to do. This afternoon I first saw France and Calais, with which I was much pleased, though it was at a distance. About five o'clock we came to the Goodwin, so to the Castles about Deale, where our Fleet lay, among whom we anchored. Great was the shout of guns from the castles and ships, and our answers, that I never heard yet so great rattling of guns. Nor could we see one another on board for the smoke that was among us, nor one ship from another. Soon as we came to anchor, the captains came from on board their ships all to us on board. This afternoon I wrote letters for my Lord to the Council, &c., which Mr. Pickering was to carry, who took leave to go away to-morrow, and Balty. I lent Balty 15s. which he was to pay to my wife. It was one in the morning before we parted. This evening Mr. Shep-

¹ *Catch* or *ketch*, a swift kind of vessel. (M. B.)

ley came on board, having escaped a very great danger upon a sand coming from Chatham.

10th. This morning many or most of the commanders in the Fleet came on board and dined here, so that some of them and I dined together in the round-house, where we were very merry. Hither came the Vice-Admiral to us, and sat and talked and seemed a very good-natured man. At night as I was all alone in my cabin, in a melancholy fit playing on my viallin, my Lord and Sir R. Stayner came into the coach¹ and supped there, and called me out to supper with them. This day my Lord Goring returned from France, and landed at Dover.

11th. A Gentleman came this morning from my Lord of Manchester to my Lord for a pass for Mr. Boyle,² which was made him. The wind all this day was very high. This afternoon came a great packet of letters from London directed to me, among the rest two from my wife, the first that I have since coming away from London. All the news from London is that things go on further towards a King. That the Skinners' Company the other day at their entertaining of General Monk had took down the Parliament Arms in their Hall, and set up the King's. In the evening my Lord and I had a great deal of discourse about the several Captains of the Fleet and his interest among them, and had his mind clear to bring in the King. He confessed to me that he was not sure of his own Captain [Cuttance] to be true to him, and that he did not like Captain Stokes. At night W. Howe and I at our viallins in my cabin, where Mr. Ibbott and the lieutenant were late. I staid the lieutenant late, shewing him my

¹ *The Council Chamber*, frequently mentioned. See 3rd May: "The council sat in the *coach*." (M. B.)

² The celebrated Robert Boyle, youngest son of Richard, first Earl of Cork.

manner of keeping a journal. After that to bed. It comes now into my mind to observe that I am sensible that I have been a little too free to make mirth with the minister of our ship, he being a very sober and an upright man.

12th. This day, the weather being very bad, we had no strangers on board.

13th. This day very foul for rain and wind. In the afternoon set my own things in my cabin and chests in better order than hitherto, and set my papers in order. At night sent another packet to London by the post, and after that was done I went up to the lieutenant's cabin and there we broached a vessel of ale that we had sent for among us from Deale to-day. There was the minister and doctor with us. After that till one o'clock in the morning writing letters to Mr. Downing about my business of continuing my office to myself, only Mr. Moore to execute it for me. I had also a very serious and effectual letter from my Lord to him to that purpose. After that done then to bed, and it being very rainy, and the rain coming upon my bed, I went and lay with John Goods in the great cabin below, the wind being so high that we were fain to lower some of the masts. I to bed, and what with the goodness of the bed and the rocking of the ship I slept till almost ten o'clock, and then—

14th. Rose and drank a good morning draft there with Mr. Shepley, which occasioned my thinking upon the happy life that I live now, had I nothing to care for but myself. The sea was this morning very high, and looking out of the window I saw our boat come with Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, in it in great danger, who endeavouring to come on board us, had like to have been drowned had it not been for a rope. This day I was informed that my Lord Lambert is got out of the Tower, and that there is 100/.

proffered to whoever shall bring him forth to the Council of State. My Lord is chosen at Waymouth this morning ; my Lord had his freedom brought him by Captain Tiddiman of the port of Dover, by which he is capable of being elected for them. This day I heard that the Army had in general declared to stand by what the next Parliament shall do.

15th. (Lord's day). Up early and was trimmed by the barber in the great cabin below. After that to put my clothes on and then to sermon, and then to dinner, where my Lord told us that the University of Cambridge had a mind to choose him for their burgess, which he pleased himself with, to think that they do look upon him as a thriving man, and said so openly at table. At dinner-time Mr. Cooke came back from London with a packet which caused my Lord to be full of thoughts all day, and at night he bid me privately to get two commissions ready, one for Capt. Robert Blake to be captain of the Worcester, in the room of Capt. Dekings, an anabaptist, and one that had witnessed a great deal of discontent with the present proceedings. The other for Capt. Coppin to come out of that into the Newbury in the room of Blake, whereby I perceive that General Monk do resolve to make a thorough change, to make way for the King. From London I hear that since Lambert got out of the Tower, the Fanatiques had held up their heads high, but I hope all that will come to nothing

16th. All the morning giving out orders and tickets to the Commanders of the Fleet to discharge all supernumeraries that they had above the number that the Council had set in their last establishment. After dinner busy all the afternoon writing, and so till night, then to bed.

17th. All the morning getting ready commissions for the Vice-Admiral and the R. Admiral, wherein my

Lord was very careful to express the utmost of his own power, commanding them to obey what orders they should receive from the Parliament, &c., or both or either of the Generals. The Vice-Admiral dined with us, and in the afternoon my Lord called me to give him the commission for him, which I did, and he gave it him himself. A very pleasant afternoon, and I upon the deck all the day, it was so clear that my Lord's glass shewed us Calais very plain, and the cliffs were as plain to be seen as Kent, and my Lord at first made me believe that it was Kent. At night, after supper, my Lord called for the Rear-Admiral's commission which I brought him, and I sitting in my study heard my Lord discourse with him concerning D. King's and Newberry's being put out of commission. And by the way I did observe that my Lord did speak more openly his mind to me afterwards at night than I can find that he did to the Rear-Admiral, though his great confidant. For I was with him an hour together, when he told me clearly his thoughts that the King would carry it, and that he did think himself very happy that he was now at sea, as well for his own sake, as that he thought he might do his country some service in keeping things quiet.

18th. Mr. Cooke returned from London, bringing me this news, that the Sectaries do talk high what they will do, but I believe all to no purpose, that the Cavaliers are something unwise to talk so high on the other side as they do. That the Lords do meet every day at my Lord of Manchester's, and resolve to sit the first day of the Parliament. That it is evident now that the General and the Council do resolve to make way for the King's coming. And it is now clear that either the Fanatiques must now be undone, or the gentry and citizens throughout England, and clergy must fall, in spite of their militia and army,

which is not at all possible I think. This morning very early Mr. Edward Montagu came on board, making no stay at all. This day Sir R. Stayner, Mr. Shepley, and as many of my Lord's people as could be spared went to Dover to get things ready against to-morrow for the election there.

19th. At dinner news brought us that my Lord was chosen at Dover. This afternoon came one Mansell on board as a Reformado,¹ to whom my Lord did shew exceeding great respect, but upon what account I do not yet know. This day it has rained much, so that when I came to go to bed I found it wet through, so I was fain to wrap myself up in a dry sheet, and so lay all night.

20th. All the morning I was busy to get my window altered, and to have my table set as I would have it, which after it was done I was infinitely pleased with it, and also to see what a command I have to have every one ready to come and go at my command. This evening came Mr. Boyle on board, for whom I writ an order for a ship to transport him to Flushing. He supped with my Lord, my Lord using him as a person of honour. Mr. Shepley told me that he heard for certain at Dover that Mr. Edw. Montagu² did go beyond sea when he was here first the other day, and I am apt to believe that he went to speak with the King. This day one told me how that at the election at Cambridge for knights of the shire, Wendby and Thornton by declaring to stand for the Parliament and a King and the settlement of the Church, did carry it against all expectation against Sir Dudley North and Sir Thomas Willis.³

¹ See 5th April, 1660. (M. B.)

² Eldest son of Edward, second Lord Montagu, of Boughton, killed at Berghen, 1685.

³ He had represented Cambridgeshire in the preceding Parliament.

21st. This day dined Sir John Boys¹ and some other gentlemen formerly great Cavaliers, and among the rest one Mr. Norwood,² for whom my Lord give a convoy to carry him to the Brill, but he is certainly going to the King. For my Lord commanded me that I should not enter his name in my book. My Lord do show them and that sort of people great civility. All their discourse and others are of the King's coming, and we begin to speak of it very freely. And heard how in many churches in London, and upon many signs there, and upon merchants' ships in the river, they had set up the King's arms. In the afternoon the Captain would by all means have me up to his cabin, and there treated me huge nobly, giving me a barrel of pickled oysters, and opened another for me, and a bottle of wine, which was a great favour. At night late singing with W. Howe, and under the barber's hands in the coach.³ This night there came one with a letter from Mr. Edw. Montagu to my Lord, with command to deliver it to his own hands. I do believe that he do carry some close business on for the King.⁴ This day I had a large letter from Mr. Moore, giving me an account of the present dispute at London that is like to be at the beginning of the Parliament, about the House of Lords, who do resolve to sit with the Commons, as not thinking themselves dissolved yet. Which, whether it be granted or no, or whether they will sit

¹ Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber.

² A Major Norwood had been Governor of Dunkirk; and a person of the same name occurs as one of the Esquires of the body at the Coronation of Charles the Second.

³ See 10th April, 1660. (M. B.)

⁴ Pepys' guess at E. Montagu's business is confirmed by Clarendon's account of his employment of him to negotiate with Lord Sandwich on behalf of the King. ("History of the Rebellion," book xvi.)—*Notes and Queries*, vol. x. p. 2. (M. B.)

or no, it will bring a great many inconveniencies. His letter I keep, it being a very well writ one.

22d. Several Londoners, strangers, friends of the Captains, dined here, who, among other things told us, how the King's Arms are every day set up in houses and churches, particularly in Allhallows Church in Thames-street, John Simpson's church, which being privately done was a great eye-sore to his people when they came to church and saw it. Also they told us for certain, that the King's statue is making by the Mercers' Company (who are bound to do it) to set up in the Exchange. After sermon in the afternoon I fell to writing letters against to-morrow to send to London. After supper to bed.

23rd. This afternoon I had 40s. given me by Captain Cowes of the Paradox. In the evening for the first time, extraordinary good sport among the seamen, after my Lord had done playing at nine-pins. After that W. Howe and I went to play two trebles in the great cabin below, which my Lord hearing, after supper he called for our instruments, and played a set of Lock's, two trebles, and a base, and that being done, he fell to singing of a song made upon the Rump, with which he played himself very well, to the tune of "The Blacksmith." After all that done, then to bed.

24th. This morning I had Mr. Luellin and Mr. Shepley to the remainder of my oysters. After that very busy all the morning. While I was at dinner with my Lord, the Coxon of the Vice-Admiral came for me to the Vice-Admiral to dinner. So I told my Lord and he gave me leave to go. I rose therefore from table and went, where there was very many commanders, and very pleasant we were on board the London, which hath a state-room much bigger than the Nazeby, but not so rich. After that, with the Captain on board our own ship, where we were

saluted with the news of Lambert's being taken, which news was brought to London on Sunday last. He was taken in Northamptonshire by Colonel Ingoldsby,¹ in the head of a party, by which means their whole design is broke, and things now very open and safe. And every man begins to be merry and full of hopes. In the afternoon my Lord gave a great large character² to write out, so I spent all the day about it, and after supper my Lord and we had some more very good musique and singing of "Turne Amaryllis," as it is printed in the song book, with which my Lord was very much pleased. After that to bed.

25th. Dined to-day with Captain Clerke on board the Speaker (a very brave ship) where was the Vice-Admiral, R. Admiral, and many other commanders. After dinner home, not a little contented to see how I am treated, and with what respect made a fellow to the best commanders in the Fleet. All the afternoon finishing of the character, which I did and gave it my Lord, it being very handsomely done and a very good one in itself, but that not truly Alphabetical. Supped with Mr. Shepley, W. Howe, &c. in Mr. Pierce, the Purser's cabin, where very merry, and so to bed.

26th. This day came Mr. Donne back from London, who brought letters with him that signify the meeting of the Parliament yesterday. And in the afternoon by other letters I hear, that about twelve of the Lords met and had chosen my Lord of Manchester Speaker of the House of Lords (the

¹ Colonel Richard Ingoldsby had been Governor of Oxford under his kinsman Cromwell, and one of Charles the First's Judges; but was pardoned for the service here mentioned, and made K. B. at the Coronation of Charles II. He afterwards retired to his seat at Lethenborough, Bucks, and died 1685.

² *i. e.* cipher. (M. B.)

young Lords that never sat yet, do forbear to sit for the present); and Sir Harbottle Grimstone,¹ Speaker for the House of Commons. The House of Lords sent to have a conference with the House of Commons, which, after a little debate, was granted. Dr. Reynolds preached before the Commons before they sat. My Lord told me how Sir H. Yelverton² (formerly my school-fellow) was chosen in the first place for Northamptonshire and Mr. Crew in the second. And told me how he did believe that the Cavaliers have now the upper hand clear of the Presbyterians. Mr. Shepley, W. Howe and I down with J. Goods into my Lord's storeroom of wine and other drink, where it was very pleasant to observe the massy timbers that the ship is made of. We in the room were wholly under water and yet a deck below that. After that to supper, where Tom Guy supped with us, and we had very good laughing, and after that some musique, where Mr. Pickering beginning to play a bass part upon the viall did it so like a fool that I was ashamed of him. After that to bed.

27th. This morning Burr was absent again from on board, which I was troubled at, and spoke to Mr. Pierce, Purser, to speak to him of it, and it is my mind. This morning Pim [the tailor] spent in my cabin, putting a great many ribbons to a suit. After dinner came on board Sir Thomas Hatton³ and Sir R. Maleverer⁴ going for Flushing; but all the world know that they go where the rest of the many gentlemen go that every day flock to the King at Breda. They supped here, and my Lord treated

¹ He was made Master of the Rolls, November following, and died 1683.

² Of Easton Mauduit, Bart., grandson to the Attorney General of both his names. Ob. 1679.

³ Of Long Stanton, co. Cambridge, Bart.

⁴ Of Allerton Maleverer, Yorkshire, Bart.

them as he do the rest that go thither, with a great deal of civility. While we were at supper a packet came, wherein much news from several friends. The chief is that, that I had from Mr. Moore, viz. that he fears the Cavaliers in the House will be so high, that the others will be forced to leave the House and fall in with General Monk, and so offer things to the King so high on the Presbyterian account that he may refuse, and so they will endeavour some more mischief; but when I told my Lord it, he shook his head and told me, that the Presbyterians are deceived, for the General is certainly for the King's interest, and so they will not be able to prevail that way with him. After supper the two knights went on board the *Grantham*, that is to convey them to Flushing. I am informed that the Exchequer is now so low, that there is not 20*l.* there, to give the messenger that brought the news of Lambert's being taken; which story is very strange that he should lose his reputation of being a man of courage now at one blow, for that he was not able to fight one stroke, but desired of Colonel Ingoldsby several times for God's sake to let him escape. Late reading my letters, my mind being much troubled to think that, after all our hopes, we should have any cause to fear any more disappointments therein.

28th. This morning sending a packet by Mr. Donne to London. In the afternoon I played at ninepins with Mr. Pickering, I and Mr. Pett against him and Ned Osgood, and won a crown apiece of him. He had not money enough to pay me. After supper my Lord exceeding merry, and he and I and W. Howe to sing, and so to bed.

29th (Sunday). This day I put on first my fine cloth suit made of a cloak. After sermon in the morning Mr. Cooke came from London with a packet, bringing news how all the young lords that

were not in arms against the Parliament do now sit. That a letter is come from the King to the House, which is locked up by the Council 'till next Tuesday that it may be read in the open House when they meet again, they having adjourned till then to keep a fast to-morrow. And so the contents is not yet known. 13,000*l.* of the 20,000*l.* given to General Monk is paid out of the Exchequer, he giving 12*l.* among the teller's clerks of Exchequer. My Lord called me into the great cabin below, where he told me that the Presbyterians are quite mastered by the Cavaliers, and that he fears Mr. Crew did go a little too far the other day in keeping out the young lords from sitting. That he do expect that the King should be brought over suddenly, without staying to make any terms at all, saying that the Presbyterians did intend to have brought him in with such conditions as if he had been in chains. But he shook his shoulders when he told me how Monk had betrayed him, for it was he that did put them upon standing to put out the lords and other members that came not within the qualifications, which he [Montagu] did not like, but however he [Monk] had done his business, though it be with some kind of baseness. After dinner I walked a great while upon the deck with the chyrurgeon and purser, and other officers of the ship, and they all pray for the King's coming, which I pray God send.

30th. All the morning getting instructions ready for the Squadron of ships that are going to-day to the Streights, among others Captain Teddiman, Curtis, and Captain Robert Blake to be commander of the whole Squadron. After dinner to ninepins, W. Howe and I against Mr. Creed and the Captain. We lost 5*s.* apiece to them. After that W. Howe, Mr. Shepley and I got my Lord's leave to go to see Captain Sparling. So we took boat and first went

on shore, it being very pleasant in the fields; but a very pitiful town Deale is. We went to Fuller's (the famous place for ale), but they have not but what was in the vat. After that to Poole's, a taverne in the town, where we drank, and so to boat again, and went to the Assistance, where we were treated very civilly by the Captain, and he did give us such musique upon the harp by a fellow that he keeps on board that I never expect to hear the like again, yet he is a drunken simple fellow to look on as any I ever saw. After that on board the Nazeby, where we found my Lord at supper, so I sat down and very pleasant my Lord was with Mr. Creed and Shepley, who he puzzled about finding out the meaning of the three notes which my Lord had cut over the chrystal of his watch. After supper some musique. Then Mr. Shepley, W. Howe and I up to the Lieutenant's cabin, where we drank, and W. Howe and I were very merry, and among other frolics he pulls out the spigot of the little vessel of ale that was there in the cabin and drew some into his mounteere,¹ and after he had drank, I endeavouring to dash it in his face, he got my velvet studying cap and drew some into mine too, that we made ourselves a great deal of mirth, but spoiled my clothes with the ale that we dashed up and down. After that to bed with drink enough in my head.

May 1st. This morning I was told how the people of Deale have set up two or three Maypoles, and have hung up their flags upon the top of them, and do resolve to be very merry to-day. It being a very pleasant day, I wished myself in Hide Parke.² This day I do count myself to have had full two years of

¹ *Mounteere*. See 20th March, 16 $\frac{5}{6}$ 9. (M. B.)

² See 30th April, 1661. "I am sorry that I was not at London to be at Hide Parke to morrow among the great gallants and ladies, which will be very fine." (M. B.)

perfect cure for the stone, for which God of heaven be blessed. This day Captain Parker came on board, and without his expectation I had a commission for him for the *Nonsuch* frigate, he being now in the *Cheriton*, for which he gave me a French pistole. Captain H. Cuttance has commission for the *Cheriton*. After dinner to nine-pins, and won something. The rest of the afternoon in my cabin writing and piping. While we were at supper we heard a great noise upon the Quarter Deck, so we all rose instantly, and found it was to save the coxon of the *Cheriton*, who, dropping overboard, could not be saved, but was drowned. To-day I hear they were very merry at Deale, setting up the King's flag upon one of their maypoles, and drinking his health upon their knees in the streets, and firing the guns, which the soldiers of the Castle threatened, but durst not oppose.

May 2nd. In the morning at a breakfast of Radyshees at the Purser's cabin. After that to writing till dinner. At which time comes Donne from London, with letters that tell us the welcome news of the Parliament's votes yesterday, which will be remembered for the happiest May-day that hath been many a year to England. The King's letter was read in the House, wherein he submits himself and all things to them, as to an Act of Oblivion to all, unless they shall please to except any, as to the confirming of the sales of the King's and Church lands, if they see good. The House upon reading the letter, ordered 50,000*l.* to be forthwith provided to send to His Majesty for his present supply; and a committee chosen to return an answer of thanks to His Majesty for his gracious letter; and that the letter be kept among the records of the Parliament; and in all this not so much as one No. So that

Luke Robinson ¹ himself stood up and made a recantation for what he had done, and promises to be a loyal subject to his Prince for the time to come. The City of London have put out a Declaration, wherein they do disclaim their owning any other government but that of a King, Lords, and Commons. Thanks was given by the House to Sir John Greenville, ² one of the bedchamber to the King, who brought the letter, and they continued bare all the time it was reading. Upon notice made from the Lords to the Commons, of their desire that the Commons would join with them in their vote for King, Lords, and Commons; the Commons did concur and voted that all books whatever that are out against the Government of King, Lords, and Commons, should be brought into the House and burned. Great joy all yesterday at London, and at night more bonfires than ever, and ringing of bells, and drinking of the King's health upon their knees in the streets, which methinks is a little too much. But every body seems to be very joyfull in the business, insomuch that our sea-commanders now begin to say so too, which a week ago they would not do. And our seamen, as many as had money or credit for drink, did do nothing else this evening. This day came Mr. North ³ (Sir Dudley North's son) on board, to spend a little time here, which my Lord was a little troubled at, but he seems to be a fine gentleman, and at night did play his part exceeding well at first sight.

3d. This morning my Lord showed me the King's

¹ Of Pickering Lyth, in Yorkshire, M.P. for Scarborough; discharged from sitting in the House of Commons, July 21, 1660.

² Created Earl of Bath, 1661, son of Sir Bevil Grenville, killed at the battle of Newbury, and said to have been the only person entrusted by Charles II. and Monk in bringing about the Restoration.

³ Charles, eldest son of Dudley, afterwards fourth Lord North.

declaration and his letter to the two Generals to be communicated to the fleet. The contents of the letter are his offer of grace to all that will come in within forty days, only excepting them that the Parliament shall hereafter except. That the sales of lands during these troubles, and all other things, shall be left to the Parliament, by which he will stand. The letter dated at Breda, April $\frac{4}{14}$ 1660, in the 12th year of his reign. Upon the receipt of it this morning by an express, Mr. Phillips, one of the messengers of the Council from General Monk, my Lord summoned a council of war, and in the mean time did dictate to me how he would have the vote ordered which he would have pass this council. Which done, the Commanders all came on board, and the council sat in the coach¹ (the first council of war that had been in my time), where I read the letter and declaration ; and while they were discoursing upon it, I seemed to draw up a vote, which being offered, they passed. Not one man seemed to say no to it, though I am confident many in their hearts were against it. After this was done, I went up to the quarter-deck with my Lord and the Commanders, and there read both the papers and the vote ; which done, and demanding their opinion, the seamen did all of them cry out, "God bless King Charles !" with the greatest joy imaginable. That being done, Sir R. Stayner,² who had invited us yesterday, took all the Commanders and myself on board him to dinner, which not being ready, I went with Captain Hayward to the Plimouth and Essex, and did what I had to do there and returned, where very merry at dinner. After dinner, to the rest of the ships quite

¹ See 10th April, 1660. (M. B.)

² Knighted and made a Vice-Admiral by Cromwell, 1657, and sent by Charles II. to command at Tangier till the Governor arrived.

through the fleet. Which was a very brave sight to visit all the ships, and to be received with the respect and honour that I was on board them all ; and much more to see the great joy that I brought to all men ; not one through the whole fleet showing the least dislike of the business. In the evening as I was going on board the Vice-Admiral, the General began to fire his guns, which he did all that he had in the ship, and so did all the rest of the Commanders, which was very gallant, and to hear the bullets go hissing over our heads as we were in the boat. This done and finished my Proclamation, I returned to the Nazeby, where my Lord was much pleased to hear how all the fleet took it in a transport of joy, showed me a private letter of the King's to him, and another from the Duke of York in such familiar style as to their common friend, with all kindness imaginable. And I found by the letters, and so my Lord told me too, that there had been many letters passed between them for a great while, and I perceive unknown to Monk. And among the rest that had carried these letters Sir John Boys is one, and that Mr. Norwood, which had a ship to carry him over the other day, when my Lord would not have me put down his name in the book. The King speaks of his being courted to come to the Hague, but do desire my Lord's advice where to come to take ship. And the Duke offers to learn the seaman's trade of him, in such familiar words as if Jack Cole and I had writ them. This was very strange to me, that my Lord should carry all things so wisely and prudently as he do, and I was over joyful to see him in so good condition, and he did not a little please himself to tell me how he had provided for himself so great a hold on the King.

After this to supper, and then to writing of letters till twelve at night, and so up again at three in the

morning. My Lord seemed to put great confidence in me, and would take my advice in many things. I perceive his being willing to do all the honour in the world to Monk, and to let him have all the honour of doing the business, though he will many times express his thoughts of him to be but a thick-sculled fool. So that I do believe there is some agreement more than ordinary between the King and my Lord to let Monk carry on the business, for it is he that must do the business, or at least that can hinder it, if he be not flattered and observed. This, my Lord will hint himself sometimes. My Lord, I perceive by the King's letter, had writ to him about his father, Crew,¹ and the King did speak well of him; but my Lord tells me, that he is afraid that he hath too much concerned himself with the Presbyterians against the House of Lords, which will do him a great discourtesy.

4th. I wrote this morning many letters, and to all the copies of the vote of the council of war I put my name, that if it should come in print my name may be to it. I sent a copy of the vote to Doling, inclosed in this letter:—

“SIR,

“He that can fancy a fleet (like ours) in her pride, with pendants loose, guns roaring, caps flying, and the loud “Vive le Roy's,” echoed from one ship's company to another, he, and he only, can apprehend the joy this inclosed vote was received with, or the blessing he thought himself possessed of that bore it, and is

“Your humble servant.”

About nine o'clock I got all my letters done, and sent them by the messenger that came yesterday. This morning came Captain Isham on board with a

¹ He had married Jemima, daughter of John Crewe, Esq., created afterwards Baron Crewe of Stene.

gentleman going to the King, by whom very cunningly, my Lord tells me, he intends to send an account of this day's and yesterday's actions here, notwithstanding he had writ to the Parliament to have leave of them to send the King the answer of the fleete. Since my writing of the last paragraph, my Lord called me to him to read his letter to the King, to see whether I could find any slips in it or no. And as much of the letter¹ as I can remember, is thus :—

“May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,” and so begins.

“That he yesterday received from General Monk his Majesty's letter and direction ; and that General Monk had desired him to write to the Parliament to have leave to send the vote of the seamen before he did send it to him, which he had done by writing to both Speakers ; but for his private satisfaction he had sent it thus privately (and so the copy of the proceedings yesterday was sent him), and that this come by a gentleman that came this day on board, intending to wait upon his Majesty, that he is my Lord's countryman, and one whose friends have suffered much on his Majesty's behalf. That my Lords Pembroke² and Salisbury³ are put out of the House of Lords. That my Lord is very joyful that other countries do pay him the civility and respect due to him ; and that he do much rejoice to see that

¹ Lord Sandwich's letter to the King, which Pepys gives from memory, is printed in Lister's *Clarendon*, and a reference to the letter will show the accuracy of Pepys' memory.—*Notes and Queries*, vol. x. p. 2. (M. B.)

² Philip, fifth Earl of Pembroke, and second Earl of Montgomery, ob. 1669. *Clarendon* says, “This young Earl's affections were entire for his Majesty.”

³ Williams, second Earl of Salisbury. After Cromwell had put down the House of Peers, he was chosen a Member of the House of Commons, and sat with them. Ob. 1668.

the King do resolve to receive none of their assistance (or some such words), from them, he having strength enough in the love and loyalty of his own subjects to support him. That his Majesty had chosen the best place, Scheveling, for his embarking, and that there is nothing in the world of which he is more ambitious, than to have the honour of attending his Majesty, which he hoped would be speedy. That he had commanded the vessel to attend at Helversluce till this gentleman returns, that so if his Majesty do not think it fit to command the fleete himself, yet that he may be there to receive his commands and bring them to his Lordship. He ends his letter, that he is confounded with the thoughts of the high expressions of love to him in the King's letter, and concludes,

“Your most loyall, dutifull, faithfull and obedient
subject and servant, “E. M.”

The rest of the afternoon at ninepins. In the evening came a packet from London, among the rest a letter from my wife, which tells me that she has not been well, which did exceedingly trouble me, but my Lord sending Mr. Cooke at night, I wrote to her and sent a piece of gold enclosed to her, and wrote also to Mrs. Bowyer, and enclosed a half piece to her for a token. After supper at the table in the coach, my Lord talking concerning the uncertainty of the places of the Exchequer to them that had them now; he did at last think of an office which do belong to him in case the King do restore every man to his places that ever had been patent, which is to be one of the clerks of the signet, which will be a fine employment for one of his sons.

In the afternoon came a minister on board, one Mr. Sharpe, who is going to the King; who tells me that Commissioners are chosen both of Lords and Commons to go to the King; and that Dr.

Clarges¹ is going to him from the Army, and that he will be here to-morrow. My letters at night tell me, that the House did deliver their letter to Sir John Greenville, in answer to the King's sending, and that they give him 500*l.* for his pains, to buy him a jewel, and that besides the 50,000*l.* ordered to be borrowed of the City for the present use of the King, the twelve companies of the City do give every one of them to his Majesty, as a present, 1000*l.*

5th. All the morning very busy writing letters to London, and a packet to Mr. Downing, to acquaint him with what had been done lately in the fleet. And this I did by my Lord's command, who, I thank him, did of himself think of doing it, to do me a kindness, for he writ a letter himself to him, thanking him for his kindness to me. All the afternoon at nine-pins, at night after supper good musique, my Lord, Mr. North, I and W. Howe. After that to bed. This evening came Dr. Clarges to Deale, going to the King; where the townes-people strewed the streets with herbes against his coming, for joy of his going. Never was there so general a content as there is now. I cannot but remember that our parson did, in his prayer to-night, pray for the long life and happiness of our King and dread Sovereigne, that may last as long as the sun and moon endureth.

6th (Lord's day). This morning while we were at sermon comes in Dr. Clarges and a dozen gentlemen to see my Lord, who, after sermon, dined with him; I remember that last night upon discourse concerning Clarges my Lord told me that he was a man of small *entendimiento*. It fell very well to-day, a stranger preached here for Mr. Ibbot, one Mr. Stanley, who prayed for King Charles, by the Grace

¹ Thomas Clarges, physician to the Army, created a Baronet, 1674, ob. 1695. He had been previously knighted; his sister Anne married General Monk.

of God, &c., which gave great contentment to the gentlemen that were on board here, and they said they would talk of it, when they come to Breda, as not having it done yet in London so publickly. After they were gone from on board, my Lord writ a letter to the King and give it me to carry privately to Sir William Compton¹ on board the Assistance, which I did, and after a health to his Majesty on board there, I left them under sail for Breda. Back again and found them at sermon. I went up to my cabin and looked over my accounts, and find that, all my debts paid and my preparations to sea paid for, I have 40*l.* clear in my purse. After supper to bed.

7th. My Lord went this morning about the flag-ships in a boat, to see what alterations there must be, as to the armes and flags. He did give me order also to write for silk flags and scarlett waistcloathes.² For a rich barge; for a noise of trumpets,³ and a set of fiddlers. Very great deal of company come to-day, among others Mr. Bellasses,⁴ Sir Thomas Lenthropp, Sir Henry Chichley, Colonel Philip Honiwood, and Captain Titus,⁵ the last of whom my Lord showed all our cabins, and I suppose he is to take notice what room there will be for the King's entertainment. Here were also all the Jurates of the towne of Dover come to give my Lord a visit, and after dinner all went away. I could not but observe that the Vice-Admiral after dinner came into the

¹ Sir William Compton, third son of Spencer, Earl of Northampton, a Privy Counsellor and Master of the Ordnance, ob. 1663, aged 39.

² Clothes hung about the cage-work of a ship's hull to protect the men in action.

³ *Noise* of trumpets, a concert or company. "I hear him coming and a whole *noise* of fiddlers at his heels."—DRYDEN, *Wild Gallant*. (M. B.)

⁴ Henry, eldest son of Lord Bellasis, made K. B. at Charles the Second's Coronation.

⁵ Colonel Silas Titus, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II., author of "Killing no Murder."

great cabin below, where the Jurates and I and the commanders for want of room dined, and there told us we must drink a health to the King, and himself called for a bottle of wine, and begun his and the Duke of York's. In the afternoon I lost 5s. at nine-pins. After supper musique, and to bed. Having also among us at the Coach table wrote a letter to the French ambassador, in French, about the release of a ship we had taken. After I was in bed Mr. Shepley and W. Howe came and sat in my cabin, where I gave them three bottles of Margate ale, and sat laughing and very merry, till almost one o'clock in the morning, and so good night.

8th. All the morning busy. After dinner come several persons of honour, as my Lord St. John and others, for convoy to Flushing, and great giving of them salutes. My Lord and we at nine-pins: I lost 9s. While we were at play Mr. Cooke brings me word of my wife. He went to Huntsmore to see her, and brought her and my father to London, where he left her at my father's, very well, and speaks very well of her love to me. My letters to-day tell me how it was intended that the King should be proclaimed to-day in London, with a great deal of pomp. I had also news who they are that are chosen of the Lords and Commons to attend the King. And also the whole story of what we did the other day in the fleet, at reading of the King's declaration, and my name at the bottom of it.

9th. Up very early, writing a letter to the King, as from the two Generals of the fleet, in answer to his letter to them, wherein my Lord do give most humble thanks for his gracious letter and declaration; and promises all duty and obedience to him. This letter was carried this morning to Sir Peter Killigrew,¹ who came hither this morning early to bring

¹ Knight, of Arwenach, Cornwall, M.P. for Camelford, 1660.

an order from the Lords' House to my Lord, giving him power to write an answer to the King. This morning my Lord St. John and other persons of honour were here to see my Lord, and so away to Flushing. As we were sitting down to dinner, in comes Noble with a letter from the House of Lords to my Lord, to desire him to provide ships to transport the Commissioners to the King, which are expected here this week. He brought us certain news that the King was proclaimed yesterday with great pomp, and brought down one of the Proclamations, with great joy to us all; for which God be praised. This morning came Mr. Saunderson, that writ the story of the King, hither, who is going over to the King.

10th. This morning came on board Mr. Pinkney and his son, going to the King with a petition finely writ by Mr. Whore, for to be the King's embroiderer; for whom and Mr. Saunderson I got a ship. This morning come my Lord Winchelsea and a great deal of company, and dined here. In the afternoon while my Lord and we were at musique in the great cabin below, comes in a messenger to tell us that Mr. Edward Montagu,¹ my Lord's son, was come to Deale, who afterwards came on board with Mr. Pickering with him. The child was sick in the evening. At night, while my Lord was at supper, in comes my Lord Lauderdale² and Sir John Greenville, who supped here, and so went away. After they were gone, my Lord called me into his cabin, and told me how he was commanded to set sail pre-

¹ Lord Sandwich's eldest son, called by Pepys "The child." (M. B.)

² John, second Earl and afterwards created Duke of Lauderdale, Earl of Guilford (in England), and K. G. He became sole Secretary of State for Scotland in 1661, and was a Gentleman of his Majesty's Bedchamber, and died in 1682, s. p.

sently for the King, and was very glad thereof. I got him afterwards to sign things in bed.

11th. Up very early in the morning, and so about a great deal of business in order to our going hence to-day. Burr going on shore last night made me very angry. This morning we began to pull down all the State's arms in the fleet, having first sent to Dover for painters and others to come to set up the King's. I had this morning my first opportunity of discoursing with Dr. Clerke, who I found to be a very pretty man and very knowing. He is now going in this ship to the King. There dined here my Lord Crafford¹ and my Lord Cavendish,² and other Scotchmen whom I afterwards ordered to be received on board the Plymouth, and to go along with us. After dinner we set sail from the Downes, I leaving my boy to go to Deale for my linen. In the afternoon overtook us three or four gentlemen; two of the Berties, and one Mr. Dormerhoy,³ a Scotch gentleman, whom I afterwards found to be a very fine man, who, telling my Lord that they heard the Commissioners were come out of London to-day, my Lord dropt anchor over against Dover Castle (which give us about thirty guns in passing), and upon a high debate with the Vice and Rear-Admiral whether it were safe to go and not stay for the Commissioners, he did resolve to send Sir R. Stayner to Dover, to enquire of my Lord Winchelsea,⁴ whether or no they are come out of London, and then to resolve to-morrow morning of going or not. Which

¹ John, fourteenth Earl of Crauford, restored in 1661 to the office of High Treasurer of Scotland, which he had held eight years under Charles the First.

² Afterwards fourth Earl and first Duke of Devonshire.

³ Probably Dalmahoy.

⁴ Heneage, second Earl of Winchelsea, constituted by General Monk Governor of Dover Castle, July, 1660; made Lord Lieutenant of Kent, and afterwards ambassador to Turkey. Ob. 1689.

was done. It blew very hard all this night that I was afeard of my boy. About 11 at night came the boats from Deale, with great store of provisions, by the same token John Goods told me that above 20 of the fowls are smothered, but my boy was put on board the Northwich.

12th. This morning I inquired for my boy, whether he was come well or no, and it was told me that he was well in bed. My Lord called me to his chamber, he being in bed, and gave me many orders to make for direction for the ships that are left in the Downes, giving them the greatest charge in the world to bring no passengers with them, when they come after us to Scheveling Bay, excepting Mr. Edward Montagu, Mr. Thomas Crew, and Sir H. Wright. Sir R. Stayner told my Lord, that my Lord Winchelsea understands by letters, that the Commissioners are only to come to Dover to attend the coming over of the King. So my Lord did give order for weighing anchor, which we did, and sailed all day. In our way in the morning, coming in the midway between Dover and Calais, we could see both places very easily, and very pleasant it was to me that the further we went the more we lost sight of both lands. In the afternoon at cards with Mr. North and the Doctor. There by us, in the Lark frigate, Sir R. Freeman and some others, going from the King to England, come to see my Lord and so onward on their voyage.

13th (Lord's day). Trimmed in the morning, after that to the cook's room with Mr. Shepley, the first time that I was there this voyage. Then to the quarter-deck, upon which the taylors and painters were at work, cutting out some pieces of yellow cloth into the fashion of a crown and C. R. and put it upon a fine sheet, and that into the flag instead of the State's arms, which after dinner was finished and

set up after it had been shewn to my Lord, who liked it so well as to bid me give the tailors 20s. among them for doing of it. This morn Sir J. Boys and Capt. Isham met us in the Nonsuch, the first of whom, after a word or two with my Lord, went forward, the other staid. I heard by them how Mr. Downing had never made any address to the King, and for that was hated exceedingly by the Court, and that he was in a Dutch ship which sailed by us, then going to England with disgrace. Also how Mr. Morland¹ was knighted by the King this week, and that the King did give the reason of it openly, that it was for his giving him intelligence all the time he was clerk to Secretary Thurloe. In the afternoon a council of war, only to acquaint them that the Harp must be taken out of all their flags, it being very offensive to the King. Mr. Cooke brought me a letter from my wife and a Latin letter from my brother John, with both of which I was exceedingly pleased. No sermon all day, we being under sail, only at night prayers, wherein Mr. Ibbott prayed for all that were related to us in a spiritual and fleshly way. Late at night we writ letters to the King of the news of our coming, and Mr. Edward Pickering² carried them. Capt. Isham went on shore, nobody showing of him any respect; so the old man very fairly took leave of my Lord, and my Lord very coldly bid him "God be with you," which

¹ Samuel Morland, successively scholar and fellow of Magdalene College, and Mr. Pepys's tutor there, became afterwards one of Thurloe's under-secretaries, and was employed in several embassies by Cromwell, whose interests he betrayed, by secretly communicating with Charles the Second. In consideration of these services he was created a baronet of Sulhamstead Banister, Berks, after the Restoration. He was an ingenious mechanic, supposed by some persons to have invented the steam engine, and lived to an advanced age.

² Sir Gilbert Pickering's eldest son.

was very strange, but that I hear that he keeps a great deal of prating and talking on shore, on board, at the King's Courts, what command he had with my Lord, &c.

14th. In the morning when I woke and rose, I saw myself out of the scuttle close by the shore, which afterwards I was told to be the Dutch shore ; the Hague was clearly to be seen by us. My Lord went up in his nightgown into the cuddy, to see how to dispose thereof for himself and us that belong to him, to give order for our removal to-day. Some nasty Dutchmen came on board to proffer their boats to carry things from us on shore, &c. to get money by us. Before noon some gentlemen came on board from the shore to kiss my Lord's hands. And by and by Mr. North and Dr. Clerke went to kiss the Queen of Bohemia's hands, from my Lord, with twelve attendants from on board to wait on them, among which I sent my boy, who, like myself, is with child to see any strange thing. After noon they came back again after having kissed the Queen of Bohemia's¹ hand, and were sent again by my Lord to do the same to the Prince of Orange.² So I got the Captain to ask leave for me to go, which my Lord did give, and I taking my boy and Judge Advocate with me, went in company with them. The weather bad ; we were sadly washed when we came near the shore, it being very hard to land there. The shore is, as all the country between that and the Hague, all sand. The rest of the company got a coach by themselves ; Mr. Creed and I went in the fore part of a coach wherein were two very pretty ladies, very fashionable and with black patches, who very merrily sang all the way and that very well, and were very free to kiss the two blades that

¹ Elizabeth, daughter of James the First.

² Afterwards William the Third.

were with them. I took out my flageolet and piped, but in piping I dropped my rapier-stick, but when I came to the Hague, I sent my boy back again for it and he found it, for which I did give him 6*d.*, but some horses had gone over it and broke the scabbard. The Hague is a most neat place in all respects. The houses so neat in all places and things as is possible. Here we walked up and down a great while, the towne being now very full of Englishmen, for that the Londoners were come on shore to-day. But going to see the Prince,¹ he was gone forth with his governor, and so we walked up and down the towne and court to see the place; and by the help of a stranger, an Englishman, we saw a great many places, and were made to understand many things, as the intention of may-poles, which we saw there standing at every great man's door, of different greatness according to the quality of the person. About 10 at night the Prince comes home, and we found an easy admission. His attendance very inconsiderable as for a prince; but yet handsome, and his tutor a fine man, and himself a very pretty boy. This done we went to a place we had taken to sup in, where a sallet and two or three bones of mutton were provided for a matter of ten of us which was very strange. After supper the Judge and I to another house, leaving them there, and he and I lay in one press bed, there being two more in the same room, but all very neat and handsome, my boy sleeping upon a bench by me.

15th. We lay till past three o'clock, then up and down the towne, to see it by daylight, where we saw the soldiers of the Prince's guard, all very fine, and the burghers of the towne with their arms and muskets as bright as silver. And meeting this morning

¹ The Prince of Orange, then in his tenth year. (M. B.)

a schoolmaster that spoke good English and French, he went along with us and shewed us the whole towne, and indeed I cannot speak enough of the gallantry of the towne. Every body of fashion speaks French or Latin, or both. The women many of them very pretty and in good habits, fashionable and black spots. He went with me to buy a couple of baskets, one of them for Mrs. Pierce, the other for my wife. After he was gone, we having first drank with him at our lodging, the Judge and I to the Grande Salle where we were shewed the place where the States General sit in council. The hall is a great place, where the flags that they take from their enemies are all hung up; and things to be sold, as in Westminster, and not much unlike it, but that not so big, but much neater. After that to a bookseller's and bought for the love of the binding three books: the French Psalms in four parts, Bacon's Organon, and Farnab. Rhetor. After that the Judge, I and my boy by coach to Scheveling again, where we went into a house of entertainment and drank there, the wind being very high, and we saw two boats overset and the gallants forced to be pulled on shore by the heels, while their trunks, portmanteaus, hats, and feathers, were swimming in the sea. Among others I saw the ministers that come along with the Commissioners (Mr. Case¹ among the rest) sadly dipped. So they came in where we were, and I being in haste left my Copenhagen knife, and so lost it. Having staid here a great while a gentleman that was going to kiss my Lord's hand, from the Queen of Bohemia, and I hired a Dutch boat for four rixdollars to carry us on board. We were fain to wait a great while before we could get off from the shore, the sea being very rough. The Dutchman would fain have made

¹ See 1st November, 1660. A member of the Assembly of Divines. (M. B.)

all pay that came into our boat besides us two and our company, there being many of our ship's company got in who were on shore, but some of them had no money, having spent all on shore. Coming on board we found all the Commissioners of the House of Lords at dinner with my Lord, who after dinner went away for shore. Mr. Morland, now Sir Samuel, was here on board, but I do not find that my Lord or any body did give him any respect, he being looked upon by him and all men as a knave. Among others he betrayed Sir Rich. Willis that married Dr. F. Jones's daughter, that he had paid him 1000*l.* at one time by the Protector's and Secretary Thurloe's order, for intelligence that he sent concerning the King.¹ In the afternoon my Lord called me on purpose to show me his fine cloathes which are now come hither, and indeed are very rich as gold and silver can make them, only his sword he and I do not like. In the afternoon my Lord and I walked together in the coach two hours, talking together upon all sorts of discourse : as religion, wherein he is, I perceive, wholly sceptical, saying, that indeed the Protestants as to the Church of Rome are wholly fanatiques : he likes uniformity and form of prayer : about State-business, among other things he told me that his conversion to the King's cause (for I was saying that I wondered from what time the King could look upon him to become his friend), commenced from his being in the Sound, when he found what usage he was likely to have from a Commonwealth. My Lord, the Captain, and I supped in my Lord's chamber, where I did perceive that he did begin to show me much more respect than ever he did yet. After supper, my Lord sent for me, intending to have me play at cards with him, but I not knowing cribbage, we fell into discourse of many

¹ See August 14, 1660. (M. B.)

things, till it was so rough sea and the ship rolled so much that I was not able to stand, and so he bid me go to bed.

16th. Soon as I was up I went down to be trimmed below in the great cabin, but then come in some with visits, among the rest one from Admiral Opdam,¹ who spoke Latin well, but not French nor English, to whom my Lord made me to give his answer and to entertain ; he brought my Lord a tierce of wine and a barrel of butter, as a present from the Admiral. Commissioner Pett² was come to take care to get all things ready for the King on board. My Lord in his best suit, this the first day, in expectation to wait upon the King. But Mr. Edw. Pickering coming from the King brought word that the King would not put my Lord to the trouble of coming to him ; but that he would come to the shore to look upon the fleet to-day, which we expected, and had our guns ready to fire, and our scarlet waist-clothes out and silk pendants, but he did not come. This evening came Mr. John Pickering on board, like an asse, with his feathers and new suit that he had made at the Hague. My Lord very angry for his staying on shore, bidding me a little before to send to him, telling me that he was afraid that for his father's sake he might have some mischief done him, unless he used the General's name. To supper, and after supper to cards. I stood by and looked on till 11 at night and so to bed. This afternoon Mr. Edwd. Pickering told me in what a sad, poor condition for clothes and money the King was, and all his attendants, when he came to him first from my Lord, their clothes not being worth forty shillings the best of them. And how overjoyed the King was when Sir J. Greenville brought him some money ; so joyful,

¹ The celebrated Dutch Admiral.

² Naval Commissioner at Chatham.

that he called the Princess Royal¹ and Duke of York to look upon it as it lay in the portmanteau before it was taken out. My Lord told me, too, that the Duke of York is made High Admiral of England.

17th. Dr. Clerke came to me to tell me that he heard this morning, by some Dutch that are come on board already to see the ship, that there was a Portuguese taken yesterday at the Hague, that had a design to kill the King. But this I heard afterwards was only the mistake upon one being observed to walk with his sword naked, he having lost his scabbard. Before dinner Mr. Edw. Pickering and I, W. Howe, Pim, and my boy, to Scheveling, where we took coach, and so to the Hague, where walking, intending to find one that might show us the King incognito, I met with Captain Whittington (that had formerly brought a letter to my Lord from the Mayor of London) and he did promise me to do it, but first we went and dined at a French house, but paid 16s. for our part of the club. At dinner in came Dr. Cade, a merry mad parson of the King's. And they two after dinner got the child and me (the others not being able to crowd in) to see the King, who kissed the child very affectionately. Then we kissed his, and the Duke of York's, and the Princess Royal's hands. The King seems to be a very sober man; and a very splendid Court he hath in the number of persons of quality that are about him; English very rich in habit. From the King to the Lord Chancellor, who did lie bed-ridden of the gout: he spoke very merrily to the child and me. After that, going to see the Queene of Bohemia, I met with Dr. Fuller, whom I sent to a tavern with Mr. Edw. Pickering,

¹ Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I., and widow of the Prince of Orange, who died 1646-7. She was carried off by the small-pox, December, 1660, leaving a son, afterwards King William III.

while I and the rest went to see the Queene, who used us very respectfully; her hand we all kissed. She seems a very debonaire, but a plain lady. In a coach we went to see a house of the Princess Dowager's¹ in a park about half-a-mile or a mile from the Hague, where there is one, the most beautiful room for pictures in the whole world. She had here one picture upon the top, with these words, dedicating it to the memory of her husband:—"Incomparabili marito, inconsolabilis vidua." Here I met with Mr. Woodcock of Cambridge, Mr. Hardy and another, and Mr. Woodcock beginning we had two or three fine songs, he and I, and W. Howe to the Echo, which was very pleasant, and the more because in a heaven of pleasure and in a strange country, that I never was taken up more with a sense of pleasure in my life. After that we parted and back to the Hague and took a tour or two about the Forehault, where the ladies in the evening do as our ladies do in Hyde Park. But for my life I could not find one handsome, but their coaches very rich and themselves so too. From thence, taking leave of the Doctor, we took wagon to Scheveling, where we had a fray with the Boatswain of the Richmond, who would not freely carry us on board, but at last he was willing to it, but then it was so late we durst not go. So we returned between 10 and 11 at night in the dark with a wagon with one horse to the Hague, where being come we went to bed as well as we could be accommodated, and so to sleep.

18th. Very early up, and, hearing that the Duke of York, our Lord High Admiral, would go on board to-day, Mr. Pickering and I took waggon for Scheveling, leaving the child in Mr. Pierce's hands, with directions to keep him within doors all

¹ Mary, daughter of Charles I.

day till he heard from me. But the wind being very high that no boats could get off from shore, we returned to the Hague (having breakfasted with a gentleman of the Duke's, and Commissioner Pett, sent on purpose to give notice to my Lord of his coming), where I hear that the child is gone to Delfe to see the town. So we all and Mr. Ibbott, the Minister, took a schuit¹ and very much pleased with the manner and conversation of the passengers, where most speak French; went after them, but met them by the way. But however we went forward making no stop. Where when we were come we got a smith's boy of the town to go along with us, but could speak nothing but Dutch, and he showed us the church where Van Trump lies entombed with a very fine monument. His epitaph concluded thus:—"Tandem Bello Anglico tantum non victor, certe invictus, vivere et vincere desiit." There is a sea-fight cut in marble, with the smoake, the best expressed that ever I saw in my life. From thence to the great church, that stands in a fine great market-place, over against the Stadt-house, and there I saw a stately tombe of the old Prince of Orange, of marble and brass; wherein among other rarities there are the angels with their trumpets expressed as it were crying. Here were very fine organs in both the churches. It is a most sweet town, with bridges, and a river in every street. Observing that in every house of entertainment there hangs in every room a poor-man's box, and desiring to know the reason thereof, it was told me that it is their custom to confirm all bargains by putting something into the poor people's box, and that that binds as fast as any-

¹ *Schuit*. In Ludwig's German-Eng. Dictionary "*Treckschüte*" is explained, "a draw-skute, drag-skute, or drag-barge, such as are very common in Holland," now called "*Treckschuit*" (drag-boat), the towing horse being ridden by a lad. (M. B.)

thing. We also saw the Guesthouse, where it was very pleasant to see what neat preparation there is for the poor. We saw one poor man a-dying there. After we had seen all, we light by chance of an English house to drink in, where we were very merry, and discoursing of the towne and the thing that hangs up in the Stadthouse like a bushel, which I was told is a sort of punishment for some sort of offenders to carry through the streets over his head, which is a great weight. Back by water, where a pretty sober Dutch lass sat reading all the way, and I could not fasten any discourse upon her. At our landing we met with Commissioner Pett going down to the water-side with Major Harly, who is going upon a dispatch into England. They having a coach I left the Parson and my boy and went along with Commissioner Pett, Mr. Ackworth and Mr. Dawes his friends, to the Princess Dowager's house again. Thither also my Lord Fairfax and some other English Lords did come to see it, and my pleasure was increased by seeing of it again. Besides we went into the garden, wherein are gallant nuts better than ever I saw, and a fine Echo under the house in a vault made on purpose with pillars, where I played on my flageolette to great advantage. Back to the Hague, where not finding Mr. Edward, I was much troubled, but went with the Parson to supper to Commissioner Pett, where we sat late. And among other mirth Mr. Ackworth vyed wives, each endeavouring to set his own wife out to the best advantage, he having as they said an extraordinary handsome wife. But Mr. Dawes could not be got to say anything of his. After that to our lodging where W. Howe and I exceeding troubled not to know what is become of our young gentleman. So to bed.

19th. Up early, hearing nothing of the child, and

went to Scheveling, where I found no getting on board, though the Duke of York sent every day to see whether he could do it or no. Here I met with Mr. Pinkney and his sons, and with them went back to the Hague, in our way lighting and going to see a woman that makes pretty rock-work in shells, &c., which could I have carried safe I would have bought some of. At the Hague we went to buy some pictures, where I saw a sort of painting done upon woollen cloth, drawn as if there was a curtain over it, which was very pleasant, but dear. Another pretty piece of painting I saw, on which there was a great wager laid by young Pinkney and me whether it was a principal or a copy. But not knowing how to decide, it was broken off, and I got the old man to lay out as much as my piece of gold come to, and so saved my money, which had been 24s. lost, I fear. While we were here buying of pictures, we saw Mr. Edward and his company land. Who told me that they had been at Leyden all night, at which I was very angry with Mr. Pierce, and shall not be friends I believe a good while. To our lodging to dinner. After that out to buy some linen to wear against tomorrow, and so to the barber's. After that by waggon to Lausdune, where the 365 children were born. We saw the hill where they say the house stood and sunk wherein the children were born. The basins wherein the male and female children were baptized do stand over a large table that hangs upon a wall, with the whole story of the thing in Dutch and Latin, beginning, "Margarita Herman Comitissa," &c. The thing was done about 200 years ago.

The towne is a little small village which answers much to one of our small villages, such a one as Chesterton in all respects, and one could have thought it in England but for the language of the

people. We went into a little drinking house where there were a great many Dutch boors eating of fish in a boorish manner, but very merry in their way. But the houses here as neat as in the great places. From thence to the Hague again playing at crambo¹ in the waggon, Mr. Edward, Mr. Ibbott, W. Howe, Mr. Pinkney, and I. When we were come thither the others went away for Scheveling, while I and the child to walk up and down the town, where I met my old chamber-fellow, Mr. Ch. Anderson, and a friend of his, both Physicians, Mr. Wright, who took me to a Dutch house, where there was an exceeding pretty lass, where I staid till 12 at night. Going to my lodging we met with the bellman, who struck upon a clapper, which I took in my hand, and it is just like the clapper that our boys frighten the birds away from the corn with in summer time in England. So to bed.

20th. Up early, and with Mr. Pickering and the child by waggon to Scheveling, where it not being yet fit to go off, I went to lie down in a chamber in the house, where in another bed there was a pretty Dutch woman, but though I had a month's-mind² I had not the boldness to go to her. So there I

¹ *Crambo*. Explained in Ludwig's Eng.-German Dictionary: "*Ein reimspiel, da derjenige, der so ein wort wiederholet, einen fehler begebet,*" a game at rhyme, where he who repeats a word commits a fault. Another explanation of the game of *Crambe* or *Crambo*, is "a play at short verses, in which a word is given, and the parties contend who can find most rhymes to it."

"Where every jovial tinker, for his chink,
May cry ' Mine host to crambe ! Give us drink,
And do not slink, but skink, or else you stink."

BEN JONSON, *The New Inn*, Act i. sc. 1. (M. B.)

² *Month's-mind*. An earnest desire or longing, explained as alluding to "a woman's longing." See Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act i. sc. 2:

"I see you have a *month's mind* to them."

(M. B.)

slept an hour or two. At last she rose, and then I rose and walked up and down the chamber, and saw her dress herself after the Dutch dress, and talked to her as much as I could, and took occasion, from her ring which she wore on her first finger, to kiss her hand, but had not the face to offer anything more. So at last I left her there and went to my company. About 8 o'clock I went into the church at Scheveling, which was pretty handsome, and in the chancel a very great upper part of the mouth of a whale, which indeed was of a prodigious bigness, bigger than one of our long boats that belong to one of our ships. Commissioner Pett at last came to our lodging, and caused the boats to go off; so some in one boat and some in another we all bid adieu to the shore. But through the badness of weather we were in great danger, and a great while before we could get to the ship. This hath not been known four days together such weather this time of year, a great while. Indeed our fleet was thought to be in great danger, but we found all well. I having spoke a word or two with my Lord, being not very well settled, partly through last night's drinking and want of sleep, I lay down in my gown upon my bed and slept till the 4 o'clock gun the next morning waked me, which I took for 8 at night, and rising mistook the sun rising for the sun setting on Sunday night.

21st. So into my naked bed¹ and slept till 9

¹ *Naked bed.* "A person undressed and in bed was formerly said to be in *naked bed*. The phrase, though a little catachrestical, was universally current. It may be observed that, down to a certain period, those who were in bed were literally naked, no night-linen being worn.

'Who sees his true love in her *naked bed*,
Teaching the sheets a whiter hue than white.'

SHAKESPEARE, *Venus and Adonis*.

I meet with the expression so late as in the very odd novel by T. Amory, called 'John Buncle,' where a young lady declares,

o'clock, and then John Goods waked me, and by the captain's boy brought me four barrels of Mallows oysters, which Captain Patnell had sent me from Murlace. The weather foul all this day also. After dinner, about writing one thing or other all day, and setting my papers in order, having been so long absent. At night Mr. Pierce, Purser (the other Pierce and I having not spoken to one another since we fell out about Mr. Edward), and Mr. Cooke sat with me in my cabin and supped with me, and then I went to bed. By letters that came hither in my absence, I understand that the Parliament had ordered all persons to be secured, in order to a trial, that did sit as judges in the late King's death, and all the officers too attending the Court. Sir John Lenthall moving in the House, that all that had borne arms against the King should be exempted from pardon, he was called to the bar of the House, and after a severe reproof he was degraded his knighthood. At Court I find that all things grow high. The old clergy talk as being sure of their lands again, and laugh at the Presbytery; and it is believed that the sales of the King's and Bishops' lands will never be confirmed by Parliament, there being nothing now in any man's power to hinder them and the King from doing what they have a mind, but every body willing to submit to any thing. We expect every day to have the King and Duke on board as soon as it is fair. My Lord do nothing now, but offers all things to the pleasure of the Duke as Lord High Admiral. So that I am at a loss what to do.

22nd. Up very early, and now beginning to be settled in my wits again, I went about setting down

after an alarm, 'that she would never go into *naked bed* on board ship again.' Octavo edition, vol. i. p. 90."—NARES, *Glossary*.

(M. B.)

my last four days' observations this morning. After that, was trimmed by a barber that has not trimmed me yet, my Spaniard being on shore. News brought that the two Dukes are coming on board, which, by and by, they did, in a Dutch boat, the Duke of York in yellow trimmings, the Duke of Gloucester in grey and red. My Lord went in a boat to meet them, the Captain, myself, and others, standing at the entering port. So soon as they were entered we shot the guns off round the fleet. After that they went to view the ship all over, and were most exceedingly pleased with it. They seem to be both very fine gentlemen. After that done, upon the quarter-deck table, under the awning, the Duke of York and my Lord, Mr. Coventry,¹ and I, spent an hour at allotting to every ship their service, in their return to England ; which having done, they went to dinner, where the table was very full : the two Dukes at the upper end, my Lord Opdam next on one side, and my Lord on the other. Two guns given to every man while he was drinking the King's health, and so likewise to the Duke's health. I took down Monsieur d'Esquier to the great cabin below, and dined with him in state alone with only one or two friends of

¹ Sir William Coventry, to whom Mr. Pepys became so warmly attached afterwards, was the youngest son of Thomas first Lord Coventry, and Lord Keeper. He entered at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1642 ; and on his return from his travels was made Secretary to the Duke of York, and elected M. P. for Yarmouth. In 1662 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Admiralty ; in 1665 knighted and sworn a Privy Counsellor ; and in 1667 constituted a Commissioner of the Treasury, but having been forbid the Court, on account of his challenging the Duke of Buckingham, he retired into the country, nor could he subsequently be prevailed upon to accept of any official employment. Burnet calls Sir W. C. the best speaker in the House of Commons, and a man of great notions and eminent virtues ; and Mr. Pepys never omits an opportunity of paying a tribute to his public and private worth. Ob. 1686, aged 60.

his. All dinner the harper belonging to Captain Sparling played to the Dukes. After dinner, the Dukes and my Lord to see the Vice and Rear-Admirals, and I in a boat after them. After that done, they made to the shore in the Dutch boat that brought them, and I got into the boat with them ; but the shore was so full of people to expect their coming, as that it was as black (which otherwise is white sand), as every one could stand by another. When we came near the shore, my Lord left them and came into his own boat, and General Pen and I with him ; my Lord being very well pleased with this day's work. By the time we came on board again, news is sent us that the King is on shore ; so my Lord fired all his guns round twice, and all the fleet after him, which in the end fell into disorder,¹ which seemed very handsome. The gun over against my cabin I fired myself to the King, which was the first time that he had been saluted by his own ships since this change ; but holding my head too much over the gun, I had almost spoiled my right eye. Nothing in the world but going of guns almost all this day. In the evening we began to remove cabins ; I to the carpenter's cabin, and Dr. Clerke with me, who came on board this afternoon, having been twice ducked in the sea to-day coming from shore, and Mr. North and John Pickering the like. Many of the King's servants came on board to-night ; and so many Dutch of all sorts came to see the ship till it was quite dark, that we could not pass by one another, which was a great trouble to us all. This afternoon Mr. Downing (who was knighted yesterday by the King) was here on board, and had a ship for his passage into England, with his lady and servants. By the same token he called me to him when I was going to write the order, to tell me

¹ See 23rd May. (M. B.)

that I must write him Sir G. Downing. My Lord lay in the roundhouse to-night. This evening I was late writing a French letter by my Lord's order to Monsieur Kragh, Embassador de Denmarke à la Haye, which my Lord signed in bed. After that I to bed, and the Doctor and I sleep well.

23rd. The Doctor and I waked very merry, only my eye was very red and ill in the morning from yesterday's hurt. In the morning came infinity of people on board from the King to go along with him. My Lord, Mr. Crew, and others, go on shore to meet the King as he comes off from shore, where Sir R. Stayner bringing His Majesty into the boat, I hear that His Majesty did with a great deal of affection kiss my Lord upon his first meeting. The King, with the two Dukes and Queen of Bohemia, Princesse Royale, and Prince of Orange, came on board, where I in their coming in kissed the King's, Queen's, and Princesse's hands, having done the other before. Infinite shooting off of the guns, and that in a disorder on purpose, which was better than if it had been otherwise. All day nothing but Lords and persons of honour on board, that we were exceeding full. Dined in a great deal of state, the Royale company by themselves in the coach, which was a blessed sight to see. I dined with Dr. Clerke, Dr. Quarterman, and Mr. Davey in my cabin. This morning Mr. Lucy came on board, to whom and his company of the King's Guard in another ship my Lord did give three dozen of bottles of wine. He made friends between Mr. Pierce and me. After dinner the King and Duke altered the name of some of the ships, viz. the Nazeby into Charles;¹ the Richard, James; the Speaker, Mary; the Dunbar

¹ "The Naseby now no longer England's shame,
But better to be lost in Charles his name."

DRYDEN, *Astræa Redux*.

(which was not in company with us), the Henry ; Winsly, Happy Return ; Wakefield, Richmond ; Lambert, the Henrietta ; Cheriton, the Speedwell ; Bradford, the Successe. That done, the Queen, Princesse Royale, and Prince of Orange, took leave of the King, and the Duke of York went on board the London, and the Duke of Gloucester, the Swiftsure. Which done, we weighed anchor, and with a fresh gale and most happy weather we set sail for England. All the afternoon the King walked here and there, up and down (quite contrary to what I thought him to have been), very active and stirring. Upon the quarter-deck he fell into discourse of his escape from Worcester, where it made me ready to weep to hear the stories that he told of his difficulties that he had passed through, as his travelling four days and three nights on foot, every step up to his knees in dirt, with nothing but a green coat and a pair of country breeches on, and a pair of country shoes that made him so sore all over his feet, that he could scarce stir. Yet he was forced to run away from a miller and other company, that took them for rogues. His sitting at table at one place, where the master of the house, that had not seen him in eight years, did know him, but kept it private ; when at the same table there was one that had been of his own regiment at Worcester, could not know him, but made him drink the King's health, and said that the King was at least four fingers higher than he. At another place he was by some servants of the house made to drink, that they might know him not to be a Roundhead, which they swore he was. In another place at his inn, the master of the house, as the King was standing with his hands upon the back of a chair by the fire-side, kneeled down and kissed his hand, privately, saying, that he would not ask him who he was, but bid God bless him whither he was

going. Then the difficulty of getting a boat to get into France, where he was fain to plot with the master thereof to keep his design from the foreman and a boy (which was all his ship's company), and so got to Fecamp in France. At Rouen he looked so poorly, that the people went into the rooms before he went away to see whether he had not stole something or other. In the evening I went up to my Lord to write letters for England, which we sent away with word of our coming, by Mr. Edw. Pickering. The King supped alone in the coach; after that I got a dish, and we four supped in my cabin, as at noon. About bed-time my Lord Bartlett¹ (who I had offered my service to before) sent for me to get him a bed, who with much ado I did get to bed to my Lord Middlesex² in the great cabin below, but I was cruelly troubled before I could dispose of him, and quit myself of him. So to my cabin again, where the company still was, and were talking more of the King's difficulties; as how he was fain to eat a piece of bread and cheese out of a poor boy's pocket; how, at a Catholique house, he was fain to lie in the priest's hole a good while in the house for his privacy. After that our company broke up. We have all the Lords Commissioners on board us, and many others. Under sail all night, and most glorious weather.

24th. Up, and made myself as fine as I could, with the linning stockings on and wide canons³ that

¹ A mistake for Lord Berkeley, who had been deputed with Lord Middlesex and four other Peers by the House of Lords, to present an address of congratulation to the King.

² Lionel, third and last Earl of Middlesex. Ob. 1674.

³ Canons, canions or cannions. Thus defined in *Kersey's Dictionary*: "Cannions, boot hose tops; an old-fashioned ornament for the legs." That is to say, a particular addition to breeches. *Coles* says, "Cannions, Perizomata." *Cotgrave*, "Canons de chausses." *Minshew* says, "On les appelle ainsi pourceque, &c., because they

I bought the other day at Hague. Extraordinary press of noble company, and great mirth all the day. There dined with me in my cabin (that is, the carpenter's) Dr. Earle¹ and Mr. Hollis, the King's Chaplins, Dr. Scarborough,² Dr. Quarterman,³ and Dr. Clerke, Physicians, Mr. Darcy, and Mr. Fox⁴ (both very fine gentlemen), the King's servants, where we had brave discourse. Walking upon the decks, where persons of honour all the afternoon, among others, Thomas Killigrew⁵ (a merry droll, but a gentleman of great esteem with the King), who told us many merry stories: one, how he wrote a letter three or four days ago to the Princess Royal, about a Queen Dowager of Judæa and Palestine, that was at the Hague *incognita*, that made love to the King, &c., which was Mr. Cary (a courtier's) wife that had been a nun, who are all married to Jesus. At supper the three Drs. of Physique again at my cabin; where I put Dr. Scarborough in mind of what I heard him say about the use of the eyes, which he owned, that children do, in every day's experience, look several ways with both their eyes, till custom teaches them otherwise. And that we do now see but with one eye, our eyes looking in parallel

are like cannons of artillery, or cans, or pots."—NARES, *Glossary*. (M. B.)

¹ John Earle, Dean of Westminster, successively Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury. Ob. 1665.

² Charles Scarborough, M. D., principal Physician to Charles II. (by whom he was knighted in 1669), James II., and William III., a learned and incomparable anatomist.

³ William Quarterman, M. D. of Pembroke College, Oxford.

⁴ Afterwards Sir Stephen Fox, Knight, Paymaster to the Forces.

⁵ Thomas Killigrew, younger son to Sir Robert Killigrew, of Hanworth, Middlesex, Page of Honour to Charles I., and Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles II., whose fortunes he had followed. He was Resident at Venice, 1651; a great favourite with the King on account of his uncommon vein of humour, and author of several plays. Ob. 1682.

lynes. After this discourse I was called to write a pass for my Lord Mandeville¹ to take up horses to London, which I wrote in the King's name, and carried it to him to sign, which was the first and only one that ever he signed in the ship Charles. To bed, coming in sight of land a little before night.

25th. By the morning we were come close to the land, and every body made ready to get on shore. The King and the two Dukes did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet before them, only to show them the manner of the ship's diet, they eat of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef. I had Mr. Darcy in my cabin and Dr. Clerke, who eat with me, told me how the King had given 50*l.* to Mr. Shepley for my Lord's servants, and 500*l.* among the officers and common men of the ship. I spoke with the Duke of York about business, who called me Pepys by name, and upon my desire did promise me his future favour. Great expectation of the King's making some Knights, but there was none. About noon (though the brigantine that Beale made was there ready to carry him) yet he would go in my Lord's barge with the two Dukes. Our Captain steered, and my Lord went along bare with him. I went, and Mr. Mansell, and one of the King's footmen, with a dog that the King loved, (which dirted the boat, which made us laugh, and me think that a King and all that belong to him are but just as others are), in a boat by ourselves, and so got on shore when the King did, who was received by General Monk with all imaginable love and respect at his entrance upon the land of Dover. Infinite the crowd of people and the horsemen, citizens, and noblemen of all sorts. The Mayor of the towne came and gave him

¹ Eldest son of the Earl of Manchester.

his white staffe, the badge of his place, which the King did give him again. The Mayor also presented him from the towne a very rich Bible, which he took and said it was the thing that he loved above all things in the world. A canopy was provided for him to stand under, which he did, and talked awhile with General Monk and others, and so into a stately coach there set for him, and so away through the towne towards Canterbury, without making any stay at Dover. The shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagination. Seeing that my Lord did not stir out of his barge, I got into a boat, and so into his barge, and spoke a word or two to my Lord, and so returned back to the ship, and going did see a man almost drowned that fell out of his boat into the sea, but with much ado was got out. My Lord almost transported with joy that he had done all this without any the least blur or obstruction in the world, that could give an offence to any, and with the great honour he thought it would be to him. Being overtook by the brigantine, my Lord and we went out of our barge into it, and so went on board with Sir W. Batten,¹ and the Vice and Rear-Admirals. At night I supped with the Captn., who told me what the King had given us. My Lord returned late, and at his coming did give me order to cause the marke to be gilded, and a Crowne and C. R. to be made at the head of the coach table, where the King to-day with his own hand did marke his height, which accordingly I caused the painter to do, and is now done as is to be seen.

26th. Mr. North and Dr. Clerke and all the great company being gone, I found myself very uncouth all this day for want thereof. My Lord dined with the Vice-Admiral to-day (who is as officious, poor man! as any spaniel can be; but I believe all to no

¹ A Commissioner of the Navy, and in 1661 M. P. for Rochester.

purpose, for I believe he will not hold his place), so I dined commander at the coach table to-day, and all the officers of the ship with me, and Mr. White of Dover. After a game or two at nine-pins, to work all the afternoon, making above twenty orders. In the evening my Lord having been a-shore, the first time that he hath been a-shore since he came out of the Hope (having resolved not to go till he had brought his Majesty into England), returned on board with a great deal of pleasure. The Captain told me that my Lord had appointed me 30*l.* out of the 1000 ducats which the King had given to the ship, at which my heart was very much joyed. To bed.

27th (Lord's day). Called up by John Goods to see the Garter and Heralds coate, which lay in the coach, brought by Sir Edward Walker, King at Armes, this morning, for my Lord. My Lord had summoned all the Commanders on board him, to see the ceremony, which was thus: Sir Edward putting on his coate, and having laid the George and Garter, and the King's letter to my Lord, upon a crimson cushion (in the coach, all the Commanders standing by), makes three congees to him, holding the cushion in his arms. Then laying it down with the things upon it upon a chair, he takes the letter, and delivers it to my Lord, which my Lord breaks open and gives him to read. It was directed to our trusty and well beloved Sir Edward Montagu, Knight, one of our Generals at sea, and our Companion elect of our Noble Order of the Garter. The contents of the letter is to show that the Kings of England have for many years made use of this honour, as a special mark of favour, to persons of good extraction and virtue (and that many Emperors, Kings and Princes of other countries have borne this honour), and that whereas my Lord is of a noble family, and hath

now done the King such service by sea, at this time, as he hath done ; he do send him this George and Garter to wear as Knight of the Order, with a dispensation for the other ceremonies of the habit of the Order, and other things, till hereafter, when it can be done. So the herald putting the ribbon about his neck, and the Garter on his left leg, he saluted him with joy as Knight of the Garter, and that was all. After that was done he took his leave of my Lord, and so to shore again to the King at Canterbury, where he yesterday gave the like honour to General Monk, who are the only two for many years that have had the Garter given them, before they had other honours of Earldome, or the like, excepting only the Duke of Buckingham, who was only Sir George Villiers when he was made Knight of the Garter.¹ A while after Mr. Thos. Crew and Mr. J. Pickering, who had staid long enough to make all the world see him to be a fool, took ship for London. So there now remain no strangers with my Lord but Mr. Hetley, who had been with us a day before the King went from us. My Lord and the ship's company down to sermon. I staid above to write and look over my new song book, which came last night to me from London in lieu of that that my Lord had of me. The officers being all on board, there was not room for me at table, so I dined in my cabin, where, among other things, Mr. Drum brought me a lobster and a bottle of oil, instead of a bottle of vinegar, whereby I spoiled my dinner. Many orders in the ordering of ships this afternoon. Late to a sermon. After that up to the Lieutenant's cabin, where Mr. Shepley, I, and the Minister supped, and after that I went down to W. Howe's cabin, and there, with a great deal of pleasure, singing till it was late. After that to bed.

¹ A.D. 1616.

28th. Called up at two in the morning for letters for my Lord from the Duke of York. This morning the Captain did call over all the men in the ship (not the boys), and give every one of them a ducat of the King's money that he gave the ship, and the officers according to their quality. I received in the Captain's cabin, for my share, sixty ducats. The rest of the morning busy writing letters. So was my Lord that he would not come to dinner. A great part of the afternoon at nine-pins with my Lord and Mr. Hetley. I lost about 4s. Supped with my Lord, and after that to bed.

29th. The King's birthday. Busy all the morning writing letters to London, among the rest one to Mr. Chetwind to give me an account of the fees due to the Herald for the Order of the Garter, which my Lord desires to know. After dinner got all ready and sent away Mr. Cooke to London with a letter and token to my wife. After that abroad to shore with my Lord (which he offered me of himself, saying that I had a great deal of work to do this month, which was very true). On shore we took horses, my Lord and Mr. Edward, Mr. Hetly and I, and three or four servants, and had a great deal of pleasure in riding. Among other things my Lord showed me a house that cost a great deal of money, and is built in so barren and inconvenient a place that my Lord calls it the fool's house. At last we came upon a very high cliffe by the sea-side, and rode under it, we having laid great wagers, I and Dr. Mathews, that it was not so high as Paul's; my Lord and Mr. Hetly, that it was. But we riding under it, my Lord made a pretty good measure of it with two sticks, and found it to be not above thirty-five yards high, and Paul's is reckoned to be about ninety. From thence toward the barge again, and in our way found the people at Deale going to make

a bonfire for joy of the day, it being the King's birthday, and had some guns which they did fire at my Lord's coming by. For which I did give twenty shillings among them to drink. While we were on the top of the cliffe, we saw and heard our guns in the fleet go off for the same joy. And it being a pretty fair day we could see above twenty miles into France. Being returned on board, my Lord called for Mr. Shepley's book of Paul's, by which we were confirmed in our wager. After that to supper and then to musique, and so to bed. This day, it is thought, the King do enter the City of London.

30th. About eight o'clock in the morning the lieutenant came to me to know whether I would eat a dish of mackerel, newly caught, for my breakfast, which the Captain and we did in the coach. All this morning making up my accounts, in which I counted that I had made myself now worth about 80*l.*, at which my heart was glad, and blessed God. Many Dover men come and dine with my Lord. My Lord at ninepins in the afternoon. Mr. Shepley told me how my Lord had put me down for 70 guilders among the money which was given to my Lord's servants, which my heart did much rejoice at. Sir R. Stayner supped with us, and among other things told us how some of his men did grumble that no more of the Duke's money come to their share and so would not receive any; whereupon he called up those that had taken it, and gives them three shares apiece more, which was very good, and made good sport among the seamen. To bed.

31st. All the morning making orders. After dinner a great while below in the great cabin trying with W. Howe some of Mr. Law's songs, particularly that of "What is a kiss," with which we had a great deal of pleasure. After that to making of orders again. Captain Sparling of the Assistance brought

me a pair of silk stockings of a light blue, which I was much pleased with. This day the month ends, I in very good health, and all the world in a merry mood because of the King's coming. This day I began to teach Mr. Edward, who I find to have a very good foundation laid for his Latin by Mr. Fuller.

June 1st. This morning Mr. Shepley disposed of the money that the Duke of York did give my Lord's servants, 22 ducatoons came to my share. I did give Mr. Shepley the fine pair of buckskin gloves that I bought for myself about five years ago. After dinner Captain Jeffery and W. Howe, and the Lieutenant and I to ninepins, where I lost about two shillings and so fooled away all the afternoon. At night Mr. Cooke comes from London with letters, leaving all things there very gallant and joyful. And brought us word that the Parliament had ordered the 29th of May, the King's birthday, to be for ever kept as a day of thanksgiving for our redemption from tyranny, and the King's return to his Government, he entering London that day. My poor wife has not been well, but thanks be to God is well again. She would fain see me and be at her house again, but we must be content. She writes word how the Joyces grow very rich and proud, but it is no matter, and that there was a talk that I should be knighted by the King, which they (the Joyces) laugh at; but I think myself happier in my wife and estate than they are in theirs. The Captain come on board, when I was going to bed, quite fuddled; the Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and he had been drinking all day.

2d. Being with my Lord in the morning about business in his cabin, I took occasion to give him thanks for his love to me in the share that he had given me of his Majesty's money, and the Duke's. He told me he hoped to do me a more lasting

kindness, if all things stand as they are now between him and the King, but, says he, "We must have a little patience and we will rise together; in the mean time I will do you all the good jobs I can." Which was great content for me to hear from my Lord. All the morning with the Captain, computing how much the thirty ships that come with the King from Scheveling their pay comes to for a month (because the King promised to give them all a month's pay), and it comes to 6,538*l.*, and the Charles particularly 777*l.* I wish we had the money. All the afternoon with two or three captains in the Captain's cabin, drinking of white wine and sugar, and eating pickled oysters, where Captain Sparling told us the best story that ever I heard, about a gentleman that persuaded a country fool to let him get his oysters or else they would stink. At night writing letters to London and Weymouth, for my Lord being now to sit in the House of Peers he endeavours to get Mr. Edward Montague for Weymouth and Mr. George for Dover.

3d. Captain Holland is come to get an order for the setting out of his ship, and to renew his commission. He tells me how every man goes to the Lord Mayor to set down their names, as such as do accept of his Majesty's pardon, and showed me a certificate under the Lord Mayor's hand that he had done so.

At sermon in the morning; after dinner into my cabin, to cast my accounts up, and find myself to be worth near 100*l.* for which I bless Almighty God, it being more than I hoped for so soon, being I believe not clearly worth 25*l.* when I came to sea besides my house and goods.

4th. Waked in the morning at four o'clock to give some money to Mr. Hetley, who was to go to London with the letters that I wrote yesterday

night. After he was gone I went and lay down in my gown upon my bed again an hour or two. At last waked by a messenger come for a Post Warrant for Mr. Hetley and Mr. Creed, who stood to give so little for their horses that the men would not let them have any without a warrant, which I sent them. All the morning getting Captain Holland's commission done, which I did, and he at noon went away. I took my leave of him upon the quarter-deck with a bottle of sack, my Lord being just set down to dinner. In the evening I made an order for Captain Sparling of the Assistance to go to Middleburgh, to fetch over some of the King's goods. I took the opportunity to send all my Dutch money, 70 ducatoons and 29 gold ducats to be changed, if he can, for English money, which is the first venture that ever I made, and so I have been since a little afraid of it. This morning the King's Proclamation against drinking, swearing, and debauchery, was read to our ships' companies in the fleet, and indeed it gives great satisfaction to all.

5th. A-bed late. In the morning my Lord went on shore with the Vice-Admiral a-fishing, and at dinner returned. In the afternoon I played at nine-pins with my Lord, and when he went in again I got him to sign my accounts for 115*l.*, and so upon my private balance I find myself confirmed in my estimation that I am worth 100*l.* In the evening in my cabin a great while getting the song without book, "Help, helpe Divinity, &c." After supper my Lord called for the lieutenant's cittern,¹ and with two candlesticks with money in them for symballs,² we made barber's musique,³ with which my Lord was well pleased. So to bed.

¹ *Cittern*, a musical instrument like a guitar. (M. B.)

² *Symballs*, i.e. cymbals. (M. B.)

³ *Barber's musique*. Barbers' shops were anciently places of great

6th. In the morning I had letters come, that told me among other things, that my Lord's place of Clerke of the Signet was fallen to him, which he did most lovingly tell me that I should execute, in case he could not get a better employment for me at the end of the year. Because he thought that the Duke of York would command all, but he hoped that the Duke would not remove me but to my advantage.

My letters tell me, that Mr. Calamy¹ had preached before the King in a surplice (this I heard afterwards to be false); that my Lord, Gen. Monk, and three more Lords, are made Commissioners for the Treasury; that my Lord had some great place conferred on him, and they say Master of the Wardrobe; that the two Dukes do haunt the Park much, and that they were at a play, Madam Epicene,² the other day; that Sir Ant. Cooper,³ Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Annesly, late President of the Council of State, are made Privy Councillors to the King. At night very busy sending Mr. Donne away to London, and wrote to my father for a coat to be made me against I come to London, which I think will not be long. I to bed and about one in the morning,

7th. W. Howe called me up to give him a letter to carry to my Lord that came to me to-day, which I did and so to sleep again. About three in the resort, and a cittern was hung there for the amusement of the customers.

“For grant the most barbers can play on the *cittern*.”

BEN JONSON, *Vision of Delight*.

Ben Jonson makes Morose say of his wife, whom his barber had recommended,

“I have married his *cittern* that's common to all men.”

Silent Woman, Act iii. sc. 5. (M. B.)

¹ Edward Calamy, the celebrated Nonconformist Divine, born 1616, appointed Chaplain to Charles the Second 1660. Ob. 1666.

² Epicene, or the Silent Woman, a Comedy, by Ben Jonson.

³ Afterwards Chancellor, and created Earl of Shaftesbury.

morning the people began to wash the deck, and the water came pouring into my mouth, which waked me, and I was fain to rise and get on my gown, and sleep leaning on my table. After dinner come Mr. John Wright and Mr. Moore, with the sight of whom my heart was very glad. They brought an order for my Lord's coming up to London, which my Lord resolved to do to-morrow. All the afternoon getting my things in order to set forth to-morrow. At night walked up and down with Mr. Moore, who did give me an account of all things at London. Among others, how the Presbyterians would be angry if they durst, but they will not be able to do any thing. Most of the Commanders on board and supped with my Lord.

8th. Out early, took horses at Deale. I troubled much with the King's gittar, and Fairbrother, the rogue that I intrusted with the carrying of it on foot, whom I thought I had lost. Came to Canterbury, dined there. I saw the minster and the remains of Becket's tomb. Col. Dixwell's horse taken by a soldier and delivered to my Lord, and by him to me to carry to London. To Sittingborne and Rochester. At Chatham and Rochester the ships and bridge. Mr. Hetley's mistake about dinner. Come to Gravesend. A good handsome wench I kissed, the first that I have seen a great while. Supped with my Lord, drank late below with Penrose, the Captain. To bed late, having first laid out all my things against to-morrow to put myself in a walking garb. Weary and hot to bed to Mr. Moore.

9th. Up betimes, 25s. the reckoning. Paid the house and by boats to London, six boats. Mr. Moore, W. Howe, and I, and then the child in the room of W. Howe. Landed at the Temple. To Mr. Crew's. To my father's and put myself into a handsome posture to wait upon my Lord. To

White Hall with my Lord and Mr. Edwd. Montagu. Found the King in the Park. There walked. Gallantly great.

10th. (Lord's day.) At my father's found my wife and to walk with her in Lincoln's Inn walks.

11th. Betimes to my Lord. Extremely much people and business. So with him to Whitehall to the Duke. Back with him by coach and left him in Covent Garden. I back to Will's and the Hall to see my father. Then to the Leg in King Street with Mr. Moore, and sent for Mons. L'Impertinent to dinner with me. After that with my Lord to Dorset House¹ to the Chancellor.

12th. Visited by the two Pierces, &c., and did give them a ham of bacon, and so to my Lord and with him to the Duke of Gloucester. The two Dukes dined with the Speaker, and I saw there a fine entertainment and dined with the pages. To my Lord's and staid till 12 at night about business.

13th. To my Lord's and thence to the Treasurer of the Navy. So to Mr. Crew's, where I blotted a new carpet that was hired, but got it out again with fair water. By water with my Lord in a boat to Westminster, and to the Admiralty, now in a new place. After business done then to the Rhenish wine-house with Mr. Blackburne, Creed and Wivell.

14th. Up to my Lord and from him to the Treasurer of the Navy for 500*l*. To my Lady Pickering with the plate that she did give my Lord the other day. Then to Will's and met William Symons and Doling and Luellin, and with them to the Bull-head.

¹ Dorset-House, in Salisbury Court, at this time occupied by the Chancellor, once the residence of the Bishops of Salisbury, one of whom (Jewel) alienated it to the Sackville family. The house being afterwards pulled down, a theatre was built on its site, in which the Duke of York's troop performed.

15th. My Lord told me how the King has given him the place of the great wardrobe.

16th. To my Lord, and so to White Hall with him about the Clerk of the Privy Seale's place, which he is to have. Then to the Admiralty, where I wrote some letters. Here Coll. Thompson told me, as a great secret, that the Nazeby was on fire when the King was there, but that is not known; when God knows it is quite false. Got a piece of gold from Major Holmes for the horse of Dixwell's I brought to town. Dined at Mr. Crew's, and after dinner with my Lord to Whitehall. Court attendance infinite tedious. After that at night home to my father's and to bed.

17th (Lord's day). To Mr. Mossum's; a good sermon. This day the organs did begin to play at White Hall before the King. Dined at my father's. After dinner to Mr. Mossum's again, and so in the garden, and heard Chippell's father preach, that was Page to the Protector, and just by the window that I stood at sat Mrs. Butler, the great beauty. After sermon to my Lord. Mr. Edward and I into Gray's Inn walks and saw many beauties.

18th. To my Lord's, where much business and some hopes of getting some money thereby. With him to the Parliament House, where he did intend to have made his appearance to-day, but he met Mr. Crew upon the stairs, and would not go in. He went to Mrs. Brown's, and staid till word was brought him what was done in the House. This day they made an end of the twenty men to be excepted from pardon to their estates. By barge to Stepny with my Lord, where at Trinity House we had great entertainment. With my Lord there went Sir W. Pen, Sir H. Wright, Hetly, Pierce, Creed, Hill, I and other servants. Back again to the Admiralty, and so to my Lord's lodgings, where he told

me that he did look after the place of the Clerk of the Acts for me. This evening my wife's brother, Balty, came to me to let me know his bad condition and to get a place for him, but I perceive he stands upon a place for a gentleman, that may not stain his family when, God help him, he wants bread.

19th. Called on betimes by Murford, who showed me five pieces to get a business done for him and I am resolved to do it. Much business at my Lord's. This morning my Lord went into the House of Commons, and there had the thanks of the House, in the name of the Parliament and Commons of England, for his late service to his King and Country. A motion was made for a reward for him, but it was quashed by Mr. Annesly, who, above most men, is engaged to my Lord's and Mr. Crew's families. Towards my Lord's, but was met with by a servant of my Lady Pickering, who took me to her and she told me the story of her husband's case and desired my assistance with my Lord, and did give me, wrapped up in paper, 5*l.* in silver. After that to my Lord's, and with him to Whitehall and my Lady Pickering. My Lord went at night with the King to Baynard's Castle to supper, and I home to my father's to bed. My wife and the girle and dog came home to-day. When I came home I found a quantity of chocolate left for me, I know not from whom.

20th. Up by 4 in the morning to write letters to sea and a commission for him that Murford solicited for. Called on by Captain Sparling who did give me my Dutch money again, and so much as he had changed into English money, by which my mind was eased of a great deal of trouble. Some other sea captains. I did give them a good morning draft and so to my Lord (who lay long in bed this day, because he came home late from supper with the King), with my Lord to the Parliament

House, and, after that, with him to General Monk's, where he dined at the Cock-pit. I home and dined with my wife, now making all things ready there again. Thence to the Admiralty, and despatched away Mr. Cooke to sea; whose business was a letter from my Lord about Mr. G. Montagu to be chosen as a Parliament-man in my Lord's room at Dover; and another to the Vice-Admiral to give my Lord a constant account of all things in the fleet, merely that he may thereby keep up his power there; another letter to Captn. Cuttance to send the barge that brought the King on shore, to Hinchinbroke by Lynne.

21st. To my Lord, much business. With him to the Council Chamber, where he was sworne; and the charge of his being admitted Privy Counsellor is 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. To the Dog Taverne, where Captain Curle, late of the *Maria*, gave me five pieces in gold and a silver can for my wife for the Commission I did give him this day for his ship, dated April 20, 1660. Thence to the Parliament door and came to Mr. Crew's to dinner with my Lord, and with my Lord to see the great Wardrobe, where Mr. Townsend brought us to the governor of some poor children in tawny clothes, who had been maintained there these eleven years, which put my Lord to a stand how to dispose of them, that he may have the house for his use. The children did sing finely, and my Lord did bid me give them five pieces in gold at his going away. Thence back to White Hall, where, the King being gone abroad, my Lord and I walked a great while discoursing of the simplicity of the Protector, in his losing all that his father had left him. My Lord told me, that the last words that he parted with the Protector with (when he went to the Sound), were, that he should rejoice more to see him in his grave at his return home, than that he

should give way to such things as were then in hatching, and afterwards did ruine him: and the Protector said, that whatever G. Montagu, my Lord Broghill,¹ Jones, and the Secretary, would have him to do, he would do it, be it what it would. Thence to my wife, meeting Mr. Blagrove, who went home with me, and did give me a lesson upon the flageolette, and handselled² my silver can with my wife and me. To my father's, where Sir Thomas Honeywood and his family were come of a sudden, and so we forced to lie all together in a little chamber, three stories high.

22d. To my Lord, where much business. With him to White Hall, where the Duke of York not being up, we walked a good while in the Shield Gallery. Mr. Hill (who for these two or three days hath constantly attended my Lord) told me of an offer of 500*l.* for a Baronet's dignity, which I told my Lord of in the balcone of this gallery, and he said he would think of it. I to my Lord's and gave order for horses to be got to draw my Lord's great coach to Mr. Crew's. My dear friend Mr. Fuller of Twickenham and I dined alone at the Sun Tavern, where he told me how he had the grant of being Dean of St. Patrick's, in Ireland; and I told him my condition, and both rejoiced one for another. Thence to my Lord's, and had the great coach to Brigham's, who went with me to the Half Moone, and gave me a can of good julep, and told me how my Lady Monk deals with him and others for their places, asking him 500*l.*, though he was formerly the King's coach-maker, and sworn to it. Thence called at my father's, and so to Mr. Crew's, where

¹ Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, created Earl of Orrery, 1660. Ob. 1679.

² *Handsel*, German, *der handsekauf; der erste gebrauch eines dinges*. An old German dictionary translates "I will hansel this cup," *Ich will zum ersten mable aus diesem becher trincken.* (M. B.)

Mr. Hetley had sent a letter for me, and two pair of silk stockings, one for W. Howe, and the other for me, and so by link home about 11 o'clock. So to bed.

23d. To my Lord's lodgings, where Tom Guy came to me, and there staid to see the King touch people for the King's evil. But he did not come at all, it rayned so; and the poor people were forced to stand all the morning in the rain in the garden. Afterward he touched them in the banquetting-house. With my Lord, to my Lord Frezendorfe's¹ where he dined to-day. He told me that he had obtained a promise of the Clerke of the Acts place for me, at which I was glad. Met with Mr. Chetwind, and dined with him at Hargrave's, the Corn-chandler, in St. Martin's Lane, where a good dinner, where he showed me some good pictures, and an instrument he called an Angelique. With him to London, changing all my Dutch money at Backwell's for English, and then to Cardinal's Cap, where he and the City Remembrancer who paid for all. Back to Westminster, where my Lord was, and discoursed with him awhile about his family affairs. So home and to bed.

24th. Sunday. Drank my morning draft at Harper's, and bought a pair of gloves there. So to Mr. G. Montagu, and told him what I had received from Dover, about his business likely to be chosen there. In the afternoon to Mr. Messum's with Mr. Moore, and we sat in Mr. Butler's pew.

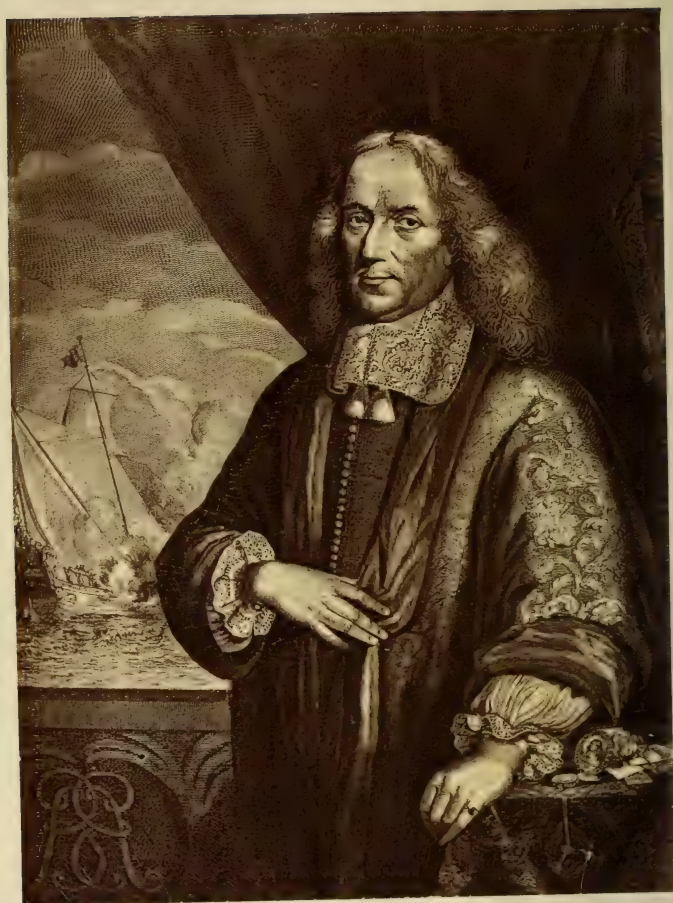
25th. With my Lord at White Hall all the morning. I spoke with Mr. Coventry about my business, who promised me all the assistance I could expect. Dined with young Mr. Powell, lately come from the Sound, being amused at our great changes here, and Mr. Southerne, now Clerke to Mr. Coventry, at the

¹ John Frederic de Friesendorff, Ambassador from Sweden to Charles the Second, who created him a Baronet, 1661.

Leg in King-street. Thence to the Admiralty, where I met Mr. Turner, of the Navy-office, who did look after the place of Clerke of the Acts. He was very civil to me, and I to him, and shall be so. There came a letter from my Lady Monk to my Lord about it this evening, but he refused to come to her, but meeting in White Hall, with Sir Thomas Clarges, her brother, my Lord returned answer, that he could not desist in my business; and that he believed that General Monk would take it ill if my Lord should name the officers in his army; and therefore he desired to have the naming of one officer in the fleete. With my Lord by coach to Mr. Crew's, and very merry by the way, discoursing of the late changes and his good fortune. Thence home, and then with my wife to Dorset House, to deliver a list of the names of the justices of the peace for Huntingdonshire. By coach, taking Mr. Fox part of the way with me, that was with us with the King on board the Nazeby, who I found to have married Mrs. Whittle, that lived at Mr. Geer's so long. A very civil gentleman. At Dorset House I met with Mr. Kipps, my old friend, with whom the world is well changed, he being now sealebearer to the Lord Chancellor, at which my wife and I are well pleased, he being a very good natured man. Home and late writing letters. Then to my Lord's lodging, this being the first night of his coming to Whitehall to lie since his coming from sea.

26th. My Lord dined at his lodgings all alone to-day. I went to Secretary Nicholas to carry him my Lord's resolutions about his title, which he had chosen, and that is Portsmouth. I met with Mr. Throgmorton, a merchant, who went with me to the old Three Tuns, at Charing Cross, who did give me five pieces of gold for to do him a small piece of service about a convoy to Bilbo, which I did. In the

(1-20)



afternoon, one Mr. Watts came to me, a merchant, to offer me 500*l.* if I would desist from the Clerk of the Acts place. I pray God direct me in what I do herein. Went to my house, where I found my father, and carried him and my wife to Whitefriars, and myself to Puddlewharfe, to the Wardrobe, to Mr. Townsend, who went with me to Backwell,¹ the goldsmith's, and there we chose 100*l.* worth of plate for my Lord to give Secretary Nicholas. Back and staid at my father's, and so home to bed.

27th. With my Lord to the Duke, where he spoke to Mr. Coventry to despatch my business of the Acts, in which place every body gives me joy, as if I were in it, which God send. Dined with my Lord and all the officers of his regiment, who invited my Lord and his friends, as many as he would bring, to dinner, at the Swan, at Dowgate, a poor house and ill dressed, but very good fish and plenty. Here Mr. Symons, the Surgeon, told me how he was likely to lose his estate that he had bought, at which I was not a little pleased. To Westminster, and with Mr. Howe by coach to the Speaker's, where my Lord supped with the King, but I could not get in. So back again, and after a song or two in my chamber in the dark, which do (now that the bed is out) sound very well, I went home and to bed.

28th. My brother Tom came to me with patterns to choose for a suit. I paid him all to this day, and did give him 10*l.* upon account. To Mr. Coventry, who told me that he would do me all right in my

¹ Edward Bakewell, an Alderman of London, and opulent banker, ruined by the shutting up of the Exchequer in 1672, when he retired to Holland, where he died.

There is a most interesting account of Alderman Backwell and his losses by money lent to Charles II. and never repaid, which by the kindness of Mr. F. G. H. Price (of Childs' Bank) I am allowed to copy out of "*Ye Marygold*." It is far too long for insertion here, but it will appear in the Appendix. (M. B.)

business. To Sir G. Downing, the first visit I have made him since he came. He is so stingy a fellow I care not to see him; I quite cleared myself of his office, and did give him liberty to take any body in. After this to my Lord, who lay a-bed till eleven o'clock, it being almost five before he went to-bed, they supped so late last night with the King. This morning I saw poor Bishop Wren¹ going to Chappel, it being a thanksgiving-day for the King's returne. After my Lord was awake, I went up to him to the Nursery, where he do lie, and, having talked with him a little, I took leave and carried my wife and Mrs. Pierce to Clothworkers'-Hall, to dinner, where Mr. Pierce, the Purser, met us. We were invited by Mr. Chaplin, the Victualler. Our entertainment very good, a brave hall, good company, and very good musique. Where among other things I was pleased that I could find out a man by his voice, whom I had never seen before, to be one that sang behind the curtaine formerly at Sir W. Davenant's² opera. To my Lord, and then home and to bed.

29th. Up and to White Hall, where I got my warrant from the Duke to be Clerke of the Acts. Also I got my Lord's warrant from the Secretary for his honour of Earle of Portsmouth, and Viscount Montagu of Hinchinbroke. So to my Lord, to give him an account of what I had done. Then to

¹ Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely. Ob. 1667, aged 82.

² Sir William Davenant, born at Oxford 1605. As his father kept an inn there, and his mother was a great beauty, it was insinuated that to Shakespeare, who generally stopped there on his road between London and Stratford, he was indebted for his life and his poetical talents. In 1637 he succeeded Ben Jonson as poet laureate. At the Restoration he obtained a patent for acting plays in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He died 7th April, 1668, aged 63 (See *Diary*, 7th and 9th April, 1668), and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where these words record his name: "O rare Sir William Davenant." (M. B.)

Sir Geffery Palmer,¹ to give them to him to have bills drawn upon them, who told me that my Lord must have some good Latinist to make the preamble to his Patent, which must express his late service in the best terms that he can, and he told me in what high flaunting terms Sir J. Greenville had caused his to be done, which he do not like; but that Sir Richard Fanshawe² had done General Monk's very well. Back to Westminster, and meeting Mr. Townsend in the Palace, he and I and another or two went and dined at the Leg there. Then to White Hall, where I was told by Mr. Hutchinson at the Admiralty, that Mr. Barlow, my predecessor, Clerke of the Acts, is yet alive, and coming up to town to look after his place, which made my heart sad a little. At night told my Lord thereof, and he bade me get possession of my Patent; and he would do all that could be done to keep him out. This night my Lord and I looked over the list of the Captains, and marked some that my Lord had a mind to have put out. Home and to bed. Our wench very lame, abed these two days.

30th. By times to Sir R. Fanshawe to draw up the preamble to my Lord's Patent. So to my Lord, and with him to White Hall, where I saw a great many fine antique heads of marble, that my Lord Northumberland³ had given the King. Here meeting with Mr. De Cretz, he looked over many of the pieces in the gallery with me and told me [by] whose hands they were with great pleasure. Dined at home and Mr. Hawley with me upon six of my

¹ Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Attorney-General, and Chief Justice of Chester, 1660; created a Baronet, 1661. Ob. 1670.

² Sir Richard Fanshawe, Knight and Baronet, Secretary to Charles the Second in Scotland, and after the Restoration employed on several embassies. He was a good linguist, and translated the *Lusiad* and *Pastor Fido*.

³ Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland.

pigeons, which my wife has resolved to kill here. This day came Will [Wayneman], my boy, to me; the wench continuing lame, so that my wife could not be longer without somebody to help her. In the afternoon with Sir Edward Walker, at his lodgings, by St. Giles Church for my Lord's pedigree. To White Hall with Mr. Moore, where I met with a letter from Mr. Turner, offering me 150*l.* to be joined with me in my patent, and to advise me how to improve the advantage of my place, and to keep off Barlow.

July 1st. This morning came home my fine Camlett cloak, with gold buttons, and a silk suit, which cost me much money, and I pray God to make me able to pay for it. I went to the cook's and got a good joint of meat, and my wife and I dined at home alone. In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet. After sermon called in at Mrs. Crisp's, where I saw Mynheer Roder, that is to marry Sam Hartlib's sister, a great fortune for her to light on, she being worth nothing in the world. To my Lord's, where late at night comes Mr. Morland, whom I left prating with my Lord, and so home.

2nd. Infinite of business that my heart and head and all were full. Met with purser Washington, with whom and a lady, a friend of his, I dined at the Bell Taverne in King Street, but the rogue had no more manners than to invite me and to let me pay my club. All the afternoon with my Lord, going up and down the towne; at seven at night he went home, and there the principal Officers of the Navy,¹

¹ A list of the Officers of the Admiralty, 31st May, 1660.

From a MS. in the Pepysian Library.

His Royal Highness James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral.
Sir George Carteret, Treasurer.

Sir Robert Slingsby, (soon after) Comptroller.

among the rest myself was reckoned one. We had order to meet to-morrow, to draw up such an order of the Council as would put us into action before our patents were passed. At which my heart was glad. At night supped with my Lord, he and I together, in the great dining-room alone by ourselves, the first time I ever did it in London. Home to bed, my mayde pretty well again.

3d. All the morning the Officers and Commissioners of the Navy we met at Sir G. Carteret's¹ chamber, and agreed upon orders for the Council to supersede the old ones, and empower us to act. Dined with Mr. Stephens, the Treasurer's man of the Navy, and Mr. Turner, to whom I offered 50*l.* out of my own purse for one year, and the benefit of a Clerke's allowance beside, which he thanked me for ; but I find he hath some design yet in his head, which I could not think of. In the afternoon my heart was quite pulled down, by being told that Mr. Barlow was to enquire to-day for Mr. Coventry ; but at night I met with my Lord, who told me that I need not fear, for he would get me the place against the world. And when I came to W. Howe, he told me that Dr. Petty had been with my Lord, and did

Sir William Batten, Surveyor.

Samuel Pepys, Esq. Clerk of the Acts.

John, Lord Berkeley,

Sir William Penn,

Peter Pett, Esq.

} Commissioners.

¹ Sir George Carteret, Knight, had originally been bred to the sea service, and became Comptroller of the Navy to Charles the First, and Governor of Jersey, where he obtained considerable reputation by his gallant defence of that Island against the Parliament forces. At the Restoration he was made Vice Chamberlain to the King, Treasurer of the Navy, and a Privy Councillor, and in 1661 M.P. for Portsmouth. He continued in favour with his Sovereign till 1679, when he died in his 80th year. He married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Carteret, Knight of St. Ouen, and had issue three sons and five daughters.

tell him that Barlow was a sickly man, and did not intend to execute the place himself, which put me in great comfort again. Till 2 in the morning writing letters and things for my Lord to send to sea. So home to my wife to bed.

4th. Up very early in the morning and landing my wife at White Friars stairs, I went to the Bridge and so to the Treasurer's of the Navy, with whom I spake about the business of my office, who put me into very good hopes of my business. At his house comes Commissioner Pett, and he and I went to view the houses in Seething Lane, belonging to the Navy, where I find the worst very good, and had great fears in my mind that they will shuffle me out of them, which troubles me. From thence to the Excise Office in Broad Street, where I received £500 for my Lord, and went afterwards down with Mr. Luddyard and drank my morning draft with him and other officers. Thence to Mr. Backewell's, the goldsmith, where I took my Lord's 100*l.* in plate for Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and my own piece of plate, being a state dish and cup in chased work for Mr. Coventry, cost me above 19*l.* Carried these and the money by coach to my Lord's at White Hall, and from thence carried Nicholas's plate to his house and left it there, intending to speak with him anon. So to Westminster Hall, where meeting with Mons. L'Impertinent and W. Bowyer, I took them to the Sun Taverne, and gave them a lobster and some wine, and sat talking like a fool till 4 o'clock. So to my Lord's, and walking all the afternoon in White Hall Court, in expectation of what shall be done in the Council as to our business. It was strange to see how all the people flocked together bare, to see the King looking out of the Council window. At night my Lord told me how my orders that I drew last night about giving us power to act, are granted

by the Council. At which he and I were very glad. Home and to bed, my boy lying in my house this night the first time.

5th. This morning my brother Tom brought me my jackanapes coat with silver buttons. It rained this morning, which makes us fear that the glory of this great day will be lost ; the King and Parliament being to be entertained by the City to-day with great pomp. Mr. Hater was with me to-day, and I agreed with him to be my clerke. Being at White Hall, I saw the King, the Dukes, and all their attendants go forth in the rain to the City, and it bedaggled many a fine suit of clothes. I was forced to walk all the morning in White Hall, not knowing how to get out because of the rain. Met with Mr. Cooling,¹ my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, who took me to dinner among the gentlemen waiters, and after dinner into the wine-cellar. He told me how he had a project for all us Secretaries to join together, and get money by bringing all business into our hands. Thence to the Admiralty, where Mr. Blackburne and I (it beginning to hold up) went and walked an hour or two in the Park, he giving of me light in many things in my way in this office that I go about. And in the evening I got my present of plate carried to Mr. Coventry's. At my Lord's at night comes Dr. Petty to me, to tell me that Barlow had come to towne, and other things, which put me into a despair, and I went to bed very sad.

6th. In the afternoon my Lord and I, and Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret, went and took possession of the Navy Office, whereby my mind was a

¹ Richard Cooling or Coling, A. M., of All-Souls College, Secretary to the Earls of Manchester and Arlington, when they filled the office of Lord Chamberlain, and a Clerk of the Privy Council in ordinary. There is a mezzotinto print of him in the Pepysian Collection.

little cheered, but my hopes not great. From thence Sir G. Carteret and I to the Treasurer's Office, where he set some things in order. And so home, calling upon Sir Geoffry Palmer, who did give me advice about my patent, which put me to some doubt to know what to do, Barlow being alive. Afterwards called at Mr. Pim's, about getting me a coat of velvet, and he took me to the Half Moone, and the house so full that we staid above half an hour before we could get anything. So to my Lord's, where in the dark W. Howe and I did sing extemporys, and I find by use that we are able to sing a base and a treble pretty well. So home, and to bed.

7th. To my Lord, one with me to buy a Clerk's place, and I did demand 100*l*. To the Council Chamber, where I took an order for the advance of the salaries of the officers of the Navy, and I find mine to be raised to 350*l*. per annum. Thence to the Change, and afterwards dined with my Uncle and Aunt Wight, and thence to the Navy Office, where I began to take an inventory of the papers, and goods, and books of the office. To my Lord's, late writing letters. So home to bed.

8th (Lord's day). To White Hall chapel, where I got in with ease by going before the Lord Chancellor with Mr. Kipps. Here I heard very good musique, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singing-men in surplices in my life. The Bishop of Chichester¹ preached before the King, and made a great flattering sermon, which I did not like that Clergy should meddle with matters of state. Dined with Mr. Luellin and Salisbury at a cook's shop. Home, and staid all the afternoon with my wife till after sermon. There till Mr. Faire-

¹ Henry King, Dean of Rochester, advanced to the See of Chichester, 1641. Ob. 1669.

brother¹ came to call us out to my father's to supper. He told me how he had perfectly procured me to be made Master in Arts by proxy,² which did somewhat please me, though I remember my cousin Roger Pepys³ was the other day persuading me from it.

9th. To the Navy office,⁴ where in the afternoon we met and sat, and there I begun to sign bills in the Office the first time.

10th. This day I put on first my new silk suit, the first that ever I wore in my life. Home, and called my wife, and took her to Dr. Clodins's to a great wedding of Nan Hartlib to Mynheer Roder, which was kept at Goring House⁵ with very great state, cost, and noble company. But, among all the beauties there, my wife was thought the greatest. After dinner I left the company, and carried my wife to Mrs. Turner's. I went to the Attorney-General's, and had my bill which cost me seven pieces. I called my wife, and set her home. And finding my Lord in White Hall garden, I got him to go to the Secretary's, which he did, and desired the dispatch

¹ William Fairbrother, in 1661 made D.D. at Cambridge per regias litteras.

² The Grace which passed the University, on this occasion, is preserved in Kennett's Chronicle, and commenced as follows:—Cum Sam. Pepys, Coll. Magd. Inceptor in Artibus in Regiâ Classe existat e Secretis, exindeq. apud mare adeo occupatissimus ut Comitii proxime futuris interesse non possit; placet vobis ut dictus S. P. admissionem suam necnon creationem recipiat ad gradum Magistri in Artibus sub personâ Timothei Wellfit, Inceptoris, &c. &c.—June 26, 1660.

³ Roger Pepys, a Barrister, M.P. for Cambridge, 1661, and afterwards Recorder of that town.

⁴ The Navy Office was erected on the site of Lumley House, formerly belonging to the Fratres Sanctæ Crucis (or Crutched Friars), and all business connected with Naval concerns was transacted there, till its removal to Somerset House. The ground is now occupied by the East India Company's warehouses.

⁵ Goring House was burnt in 1674, at which time Lord Arlington resided in it.

of his and my bills to be signed by the King. His bill is to be Earle of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchinbroke, and Baron of St. Neot's. Home, with my mind pretty quiet : not returning, as I said I would, to see the bride put to bed.

11th. With Sir W. Pen¹ by water to the Navy office, where we met, and dispatched business. And that being done, we went all to dinner to the Dolphin, upon Major Brown's invitation. After that to the office again, where I was vexed, and so was Commissioner Pett, to see a busy fellow come to look out the best lodgings for my Lord Barkley, and the combining between him and Sir W. Pen ; and, indeed, was troubled much at it. Home to White Hall, and took out my bill signed by the King, and carried it to Mr. Watkins of the Privy Seale to be despatched there, and going home to take a cap, I borrowed a pair of sheets of Mr. Howe, and by coach to the Navy office, and slept there.

12th. Up early and by coach to White Hall with Commissioner Pett, where, after we had talked with my Lord, I went to the Privy Seale and got my bill perfected there, and at the Signet : and then to the House of Lords, and met with Mr. Kipps, who directed me to Mr. Beale to get my patent engrossed ; but he not having time to get it done in Chancery-hand, I was forced to run all up and down

¹ Sir William Pen was born at Bristol in 1621, of the ancient family of the Pens, of Pen Lodge, Wilts. He was Captain at the age of 21 ; Rear-Admiral of Ireland at 23 ; Vice-Admiral of England, and General in the first Dutch war at 32. He was subsequently M.P. for Weymouth, Governor of Kinsale, and Vice-Admiral of Munster. After the Dutch fight in 1665, where he distinguished himself as second in command under the Duke of York, he took leave of the sea, but continued to act as a Commissioner for the Navy till 1669, when he retired on account of his bodily infirmities to Wanstead, and died there September 16, 1670, aged 49.

Chancery-lane, and the Six Clerks' Office,¹ but could find none that could write the hand, that were at leisure. And so in a despair went to the Admiralty, where we met the first time there, my Lord Montagu, my Lord Barkley, Mr. Coventry, and all the rest of the principal Officers and Commissioners, except only the Controller, who is not yet chosen.

13th. Up early, the first day that I put on my black camlett coat with silver buttons. To Mr. Spong, whom I found in his night-gown writing of my patent. It being done, we carried it to Worcester House² to the Chancellor, where Mr. Kipps (a strange providence that he should now be in a condition to do me a kindness, which I never thought him capable of doing for me), got me the Chancellor's recepi to my bill; and so carried it to Mr. Beale for a dockett; but he was very angry, and unwilling to do it, because he said it was ill writ (because I had got it writ by another hand, and not by him); but by much importunity I got Mr. Spong to go to his office and make an end of my patent; and in the mean time Mr. Beale to be preparing my dockett, which being done, I did give him two pieces, after which it was strange how civil and tractable he

¹ *Six Clerks' Office.* "In the early history of the Court of Chancery, the Six Clerks and their under-clerks appear to have acted as the attorneys of the suitors. As business increased, these under-clerks became a distinct body, and were recognised by the court under the denomination of 'sworn clerks,' or 'clerks in court.' The advance of commerce, with its consequent accession of wealth, so multiplied the subjects requiring the judgment of a Court of Equity, that the limits of a public office were found wholly inadequate to supply a sufficient number of officers to conduct the business of the suitors. Hence originated the 'Solicitors' of the Court of Chancery."—See SMITH'S *Chancery Practice*, p. 62, 3rd edit. (M. B.)

² The Earls of Worcester had a large house between Durham Place and the Savoy, which Lord Clarendon rented at £5 per annum, while his own was building.

was to me. From thence I went to the Navy office, where we despatched much business, and resolved of the houses for the Officers and Commissioners, which I was glad of, and I got leave to have a door made me into the leads. From thence, much troubled in mind about my patent, I went to Mr. Beale again, who had now finished my patent and made it ready for the Seale, about an hour after I went to meet him at the Chancellor's. So I went away towards Westminster, and in my way met with Mr. Spong, who still would be giving me council of getting my patent out, for fear of another change, and my Lord Montagu's fall. After that to Worcester House, where by Mr. Kipps's means, and my pressing in General Montagu's name to the Chancellor, I did, beyond all expectation, get my seal passed; and while it was doing in one room, I was forced to keep Sir G. Carteret (who by chance met me there, ignorant of my business) in talk. To my wife, whom I had left in a coach, and presented her with my patent at which she was overjoyed; so to the Navy office, and showed her my house, and were both mightily pleased. I to my Lord's, where I dispatched an order for a ship to fetch Sir R. Honynwood home, for which I got two pieces of my Lady Honynwood by young Mr. Powell. Late writing letters; and great doings of musique at the next house, which was Whally's; the King and Dukes there with Madame Palmer,¹ a pretty woman that they have a fancy to make her husband a cuckold. Here at the old door that did go into his lodgings, my Lord, I, and W. Howe, did stand listening a great while to the

¹ Barbara Villiers, daughter of William Viscount Grandison, wife of Roger Palmer, Esq., created Earl of Castlemaine, 1661. She became the King's mistress soon after the Restoration, and was in 1670 made Duchess of Cleveland. She died 1709, aged 69.

musique. To bed with the greatest quiet of mind that I have had a great while, having ate nothing but a bit of bread and cheese at Lilly's to-day, and a bit of bread and butter after I was a-bed.

14th. Up early and advised with my wife for the putting of all our things in a readiness to be sent to our new house. To my Lord's, where he was in bed very late. So with Major Tollemache and others to Harper's, and I sent for my barrel of pickled oysters and there eat them; while we were doing so, comes in Mr. Pagan Fisher,¹ the poet, and promises me what he had long ago done, a book in praise of the King of France, with my armes, and a dedication to me very handsome. After him comes Mr. Shepley come from sea yesterday, whom I was glad to see that he may ease me of the trouble of my Lord's business. After that to Westminster Hall, where I paid all my debts in order to my going away from hence. Here I met with Mr. Eglin, who would needs take me to the Leg in King Street and gave me a dish of meat to dinner; and so I sent for Mons. L'Impertinent, where we sat long and were merry. After that parted, and I took Mr. Butler [Mons. L'Impertinent] with me into London by coach and shewed him my house at the Navy Office,

¹ Payne Fisher, who styled himself Paganus Piscator, was born in 1616, in Dorsetshire, and removed from Hart Hall, Oxford, of which he had been a commoner, to Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1634; and there took a degree of B. A., and first discovered a turn for poetry. He was afterwards a Captain in the King's service at Marston Moor fight; but, leaving his command, employed his pen against the cause which he had supported with his sword, and became a favourite of Cromwell's. After the King's return, he obtained a scanty subsistence by flattering men in power, and was frequently imprisoned for debt. He died 1693. He published several poems, chiefly in Latin; and, in 1682, printed a book of Heraldry, with the arms of such of the gentry as he had waited upon with presentation copies. He was a man of talents, but vain, unsteady, and conceited, and a great time-server.

and did give order for the laying in coals. So into Fenchurch Street, and did give him a glass of wine at Rawlinson's, and was trimmed in the street. So home, where I found my wife had packed up all her goods in the house fit for a removal. So to bed.

15th. Lay long in bed to recover my rest. Drank my morning draft at Wilkinson's, and after that to Westminster Abbey, and in Henry the Seventh's Chappell heard part of a sermon, the first that ever I heard there. To my Lord's and dined all alone at the table with him. After dinner he and I alone fell to discourse, and I find him plainly to be a sceptic in all things of religion, and to make no great matter of anything therein, but to be a perfect Stoic. In the afternoon to Henry the Seventh's Chappell, where I heard service and a sermon there, and after that meeting W. Bowyer there he and I to the Parke, and walked a good while till night. So to Harper's and drank together, and Captain Stokes came to us and so I fell into discourse of buying paper at the best hand in my office, and the Captain promised me to buy it for me in France. My wife at home all the day, she having no clothes out, all being packed up yesterday. For this month I have wholly neglected anything of news, and so have beyond belief been ignorant how things go, but now by my patent my mind is in some quiet, which God keep. My wife and I mightily pleased with our new house that we hope to have. My patent has cost me a great deal of money, about 40*l.*, which is the only thing at present which do trouble me much.

16th. This morning it proved very rainy weather so that I could not remove my goods to my house. I to my office and did business there, and so home.

17th. This morning (as indeed all the mornings now-a-days) much business at my Lord's. There

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came to my house before I went out Mr. Barlow, an old consumptive man, and fair conditioned. After much talk, I did grant him what he asked, viz., 50*l.* per annum, if my salary be not increased, and 100*l.* per annum, in case it be to 350*l.*, at which he was very well pleased to be paid as I received my money, and not otherwise, so I brought him to my Lord's bedside, and he and I did agree together. That done and the day proving fair I went home and got all my things packed up and sent away, and my wife and I and Mrs. Hunt went by coach, overtaking the carts a-drinking in the Strand. Being come to my house and set in the goods, and at night sent my wife and Mrs. Hunt to buy something for supper; they bought a Quarter of Lamb, and so we eat it, but it was not half roasted. Will, Mr. Blackburne's nephew, is so obedient, that I am greatly glad of him.

18th. This morning we met at the office: I dined at my house in Seething Lane, and after that, about 4 o'clock, going to Westminster Hall I met with Mr. Carter and Mr. Cooke. I did also meet with Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, with a porter with him, with a barrel of Lemons, which my man Burr sends me from sea. I took all these people home to my house and did give them some drink. Thence to my Lord about business, and being in talk in comes one with half a buck from Hinchinbroke, and it smelling a little strong my Lord did give it me (though it was as good as any could be). I did carry it to my mother, where I had not been a great while, and indeed had no great mind to go, because my father did lay upon me continually to do him a kindness at the Wardrobe, which I could not do because of my own business being so fresh with my Lord. But my father was not at home, and so I did leave the venison with her to dispose of as she pleased. After that home, where W. Hewer now was, and did lie

this night with us, the first night. My mind very quiet, only a little trouble I have for the great debts which I have still upon me to the Secretary, Mr. Kipps, and Mr. Spong for my patent.

19th. I did lie late a-bed. I and my wife by water, landed her at Whitefriars with her boy with an iron of our new range which is already broke and my wife will have changed, and many other things she has to buy with the help of my father to-day. This day I received my commission to swear people the oath of allegiance and supremacy delivered me by my Lord. After talk with my Lord I went to Westminster Hall, where I took Mr. Michell and his wife to the Dog Taverne, where I did give them a dish of anchovies and olives and paid for all, and did talk of our old discourse when we did use to talk of the King, in the time of the Rump, privately; after that to the Admiralty Office, in White Hall, where I staid and writ my last observations for these four days last past. Great talk of the difference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Clergy, but I believe it will come to nothing. So home and to bed.

20th. We sat at the office this morning, Sir W. Batten and Mr. Pett being upon a survey to Chatham. I sent my wife to my father's and he is to give me £5 worth of pewter. After we rose at the office, I went to my father's, where my Uncle Fenner and all his crew and Captain Holland and his wife and my wife were at dinner at a venison pasty of the venison that I did give my mother the other day.

21st. This morning Mr. Barlow had appointed for me to bring him what form I would have the agreement between him and me to pass, which I did to his lodgings at the Golden Eagle in the new street between Fetter Lane and Shoe Lane, and went to get Mr. Spong to engross it in duplicates.

To my Lord and spoke to him about the business of the Privy Seale for me to be sworn, though I got nothing by it, but to do Mr. Moore a kindness. Went to the Six Clerks' office to Mr. Spong for the writings, and dined with him at a club at the next door, where we had three voices to sing catches. So to Whitehall about business of my Lord's concerning his creation, and so home and to bed.

22nd. Lord's day. My brother Tom came this morning the first time to see me, and I paid him all that I owe my father to this day. Afterwards I went out and looked into several churches, and so to my uncle Fenner to dinner. After dinner to White Hall, where I find my Lord at home, and walked in the garden with him, he showing me all the respect that can be. I left him and went to walk in the inward Park, but could not get in; one man was basted by the keeper, for carrying some people over on his back through the water. Afterwards to my Lord's, where I staid and drank with Mr. Shepley, having first sent to get a pair of oars. It was the first time that ever I went by water on the Lord's day. Home, and at night had a chapter read; and I read prayers out of the Common Prayer Book, the first time that ever I read prayers in this house. So to bed.

23rd. This morning Mr. Barlow comes to me, and he and I went forth to a scrivener in Fenchurch Street, whom we found sick of the goute in bed, and signed and sealed our agreement before him, and afterwards Mr. Barlow by appointment came and dined with me, and both of us very pleasant and pleased. After dinner to my Lord, who took me to Secretary Nicholas,¹ and there before him and Secretary

¹ Sir Edward Nicholas, many years principal Secretary of State to Charles the First and Second; dismissed from his office through the intrigues of Lady Castlemaine in 1663, and ob. 1669, aged 77.

Morris,¹ my Lord and I upon our knees together took our oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; and the Oath of the Privy Seale, of which I was much glad, though I am not likely to get anything by it at present; but I do desire it, for fear of a turn-out of our office.

24th. To White Hall, where I did acquaint Mr. Watkins with my being sworn into the Privy Seale, at which he was much troubled, but did offer me a kinsman of his to be my clerk, which I did give him some hope of, though I never intend it. In the afternoon I spent much time in walking in White Hall Court with Mr. Bickerstaffe,² who was very glad of my Lord's being sworn, because of his business with his brother Baron,² which is referred to my Lord Chancellor, and to be ended to-morrow. Baron had got a grant beyond sea, to come in before the reversionary of the Privy Seale.

25th. In the morning at the office, and after that down to Whitehall, where I met with Creed, and with him and a Welsh schoolmaster, a good scholar but a very pedagogue, to the ordinary at the Leg in King Street. I got my certificate of my Lord's and my being sworn. This morning my Lord took leave of the House of Commons, and had the thanks of the House for his great service to his country.³ In the afternoon (but this is a mistake, for it was yesterday in the afternoon) Monsieur L'Impertinent and I met and I took him to the Sun and drank with him, and in the evening going away we met his mother and sisters and father coming from the Gatehouse, where they lodge, where I did the first time salute them all, and very pretty Madame Frances is

¹ Sir William Morris, Secretary of State from 1660 to 1668. Ob. 1676. He was kinsman to General Monk.

² They were both clerks of the Privy Seal.

³ In the Journals this is stated to have taken place July 24th.

indeed. After that very late home and called in Tower Street, and there at a barber's was trimmed the first time. Home and to bed.

26th. Early to White Hall, thinking to have a meeting of my Lord and the principal officers, but my Lord could not, it being the day that he was to go and be admitted in the House of Lords, his patent being done, which he presented upon his knees to the Speaker; and so it was read in the House, and he took his place. I at the Privy Seale Office with Mr. Hooker, who brought me acquainted with Mr. Crofts of the Signet, and I invited them to a dish of meat at the Leg in King Street, and so we dined there and I paid for all and had very good light given me as to my employment there. In the evening I met with T. Doling, who carried me to St. James's Fair, and there meeting with W. Symons and his wife, and Luellin, and D. Scobell's wife and cousin, we went to Wood's at the Pell Mell (our old house for clubbing), and there we spent till 10 at night, at which time I sent to my Lord's for my clerk Will to come to me, and so by link home to bed.

27th. The last night Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen came to their houses at the office. Met this morning and did business till noon. Dined at home and from thence to my Lord's where Will, my clerk, and I were all the afternoon making up my accounts, and I find myself worth about £100 after all my expenses. We got a coach, but the horses were tired and could not carry us farther than St. Dunstan's. So we 'light and took a link and so home weary to bed.

28th. A boy brought me a letter from Poet Fisher, who tells me that he is upon a panegyrique of the King, and desired to borrow a piece of me; and I sent him half a piece. To Westminster, and there

met Mr. Henson, who had formerly had the brave clock that went with bullets (which is now taken away from him by the King, it being his goods). I went with him to the Swan Taverne and sent for Mr. Butler, who was now all full of his high discourse in praise of Ireland, whither he and his whole family are going by Coll. Dillon's persuasion, but so many lies I never heard in praise of anything as he told of Ireland. So home late at night and to bed.

29th. Lord's day. With my Lord to White Hall Chappell, where I heard a cold sermon of the Bishop of Salisbury's, Duppa's,¹ and the ceremonies did not please me, they do so overdo them. My Lord went to dinner at Kensington with my Lord Camden.² So I dined and in the afternoon with Dick Vines and his brother Payton, we walked to Lisson Greene and Marybone and back again, and finding my Lord at home I got him to look over my accounts, which he did approve of and signed them, and so we are even to this day.

30th. Sat at our office to-day, and my father came this day the first time to see us at my new office. This afternoon I got my 50*l.*, due to me for my first quarter's salary as Secretary to my Lord, paid to Tho. Hater for me, which he received and brought home to me, of which I am full glad. To Westminster and met with Mr. Moore, and took him and his friend, a bookseller of Paul's Churchyard, to the Rhenish Winehouse, and drinking there the sword-bearer of London (Mr. Man) came to ask for us, with whom we sat late, discoursing about the worth of my office of Clerke of the Acts, which he hath a mind to buy, and I asked four years' pur-

¹ Brian Duppa, successively bishop of Chichester, Salisbury, and Winchester. Ob. 1662.

² Baptist, second Viscount Campden, Lord Lieutenant of Rutlandshire. Ob. 1683.

chase. Home on foot, and seeing him at home at Butler's merry, he lent me a torch, which Will carried, and so home.

31st. To White Hall, where my Lord and the principal officers met, and had a great discourse about raising of money for the Navy, which is in very sad condition, and money must be raised for it. Mr. Blackburne, Dr. Clerke, and I to the Quaker's and dined there. I back to the Admiralty, and there was doing things in order to the calculating of the debts of the Navy and other business, all the afternoon. At night I went to the Privy Seale, where I found Mr. Crofts and Mathews making up all their things to leave the office to-morrow, to those that come to wait the next month. I took them to the Sun Taverne and there made them drink, and discoursed concerning the office, and what I was to expect to-morrow about Baron, who pretends to the next month.

August 1st. Up very early, and by water to Whitehall to my Lord's, and there talked with him about the affairs of the Navy, and how I was now to wait to-day at the Privy Seale. Hence to the Privy Seale Office, where I got (by Mr. Mathew's means) possession of the books and table, but with some expectations of Baron's bringing of a warrant from the King to have this month. I took at noon Mr. Harper to the Leg in King Street, and did give him his dinner, who did still advise me much to act wholly myself at the Privy Seale, but I told him that I could not, because I had other business to take up my time. In the afternoon at the office again, where we had many things to sign; and I went to the Council Chamber, and there got my Lord to sign the first bill, and the rest all myself; but received no money to-day. After I had signed all I went with Dick Scobell and Luellin to drink at a bottle

beer house in the Strand, and after staying there a while, I took boat and homewards, and in Fish Street bought a Lobster, and after I had bought it I met with Winter and Mr. Delabarr, and there with a piece of sturgeon of theirs we went to the Sun Taverne in the street and eat them. Late home and to bed.

2d. To Westminster by water with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen (our servants in another boat) to the Admiralty; and from thence I went to my Lord's to fetch him thither, where we stayed in the morning about ordering of money for the victuallers, and advising how to get a sum of money to carry on the business of the Navy. From thence W. Hewer and I to the office of Privy Seale, where I stayed all the afternoon, and received about 40*l.* for yesterday and to-day, at which my heart rejoiced for God's blessing to me, to give me this advantage by chance, there being of this 40*l.* about 10*l.* due to me for this day's work. So great is the present profit of this office, above what it was in the King's time; there being the last month about 300 bills, whereas in the late King's time it was much to have 40. With my money home by coach, it being the first time that I could get home before our gates were shut since I came to the Navy office. I went and cast up the expense that I laid out upon my former house (because there are so many that are desirous of it, and I am, in my mind, loth to let it go out of my hands, for fear of a turn). I find my layings-out to come to about 20*l.* which with my fine will come to about 22*l.* to him that shall hire my house of me.

3rd. Up betimes this morning, and after the barber had done with me, then to the office, where I and Sir William Pen only did meet and despatch business. At noon my wife and I by coach to Dr. Clerke's to dinner. I was very much taken with his lady, a comely, proper woman, though not handsome;

but a woman of the best language I ever heard. After dinner at the Privy Seale Office all day, signing things and taking money all day, so that I could not do as I had intended, that is to return to them and go to the Red Bull Playhouse.

4th. To White Hall, where I found my Lord gone with the King by water to dine at the Tower with Sir J. Robinson,¹ Lieutenant. I found my Lady Jemimah,² at my Lord's, with whom I staid and dined, all alone; after dinner to the Privy Seale Office, where I did business. So to a Committee of Parliament (Sir Hen. Finch,³ Chairman), to give them an answer to an order of theirs, "that we could not give them any account of the Accounts of the Navy in the years 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, as they desire." After that I went and bespoke some linen of Betty Lane in the Hall, and after that to the Trumpet. At night, it being very rainy, and it thundering and lightning exceedingly, I took coach at the Trumpet door, taking Monsieur L'Impertinent along with me as far as the Savoy. I made haste home. To bed, having not time to write letters, and indeed having so many to write to all places that I have no heart to go about them.

5th. Lord's day. My wife being in much pain, I went this morning to Dr. Williams, in Holborne, and he did give me an ointment which I sent home by my boy, and a plaister which I took with me to Westminster, where I dined with Mr. Shepley. After dinner to St. Margaret's, where the first time I ever heard Common Prayer in that Church. I sat

¹ Sir John Robinson, created a Baronet for his services to Charles II., 1660, and had an augmentation to his arms. He was Lord Mayor of London, 1663.

² Lady Jemima Montagu.

³ Solicitor-General, 1660; Lord Keeper, 1673; Chancellor, 1675; created Earl of Nottingham, 1681. Ob. 1682.

with Mr. Hill in his pew. Church done I went and Mr. Shepley to see W. Howe at Mr. Pierce's, where I staid singing of songs and psalms an hour or two, and were very pleasant with Mrs. Pierce and him. After that to Westminster stairs, where I saw a fray between Mynheer Clinke, a Dutchman, that was at Hartlibb's wedding, and a waterman, which made good sport. After that I got a Gravesend boat, that was come up to fetch some bread on this side the bridge, and got them to carry me to the bridge, and so home. After prayers to bed.

6th. This morning at the office, and, that being done, home to dinner all alone, my wife being ill in pain a-bed, which I was troubled at, and not a little impatient. This night Mr. Man offered me 1000*l*. for my office of Clerke of the Acts, which made my mouth water; but yet I dare not take it till I speak with my Lord to have his consent.

7th. Mr. Moore and myself dined at my Lord's with Mr. Shepley. While I was at dinner in come Sam. Hartlibb¹ and his brother-in-law, now knighted by the King, to request my promise of a ship for them to Holland, which I had promised to get for them. After dinner to the Privy Seale all the afternoon. At night, meeting Sam. Hartlibb, he took me by coach to Kensington, to my Lord of Holland's; I staid in the coach while he went in about his business. Thence to my office of Privy Seale, and, having signed some things there, with Mr. Moore and Dean Fuller to the Leg in King Street, and, sending for my wife, we dined there very merry, and after dinner parted.

8th. To Mr. Butler's to see his daughters, the first time that ever we made a visit to them. We

¹ Samuel Hartlib, son of a Polish merchant, and author of several ingenious works on Agriculture, for which he had a pension from Cromwell.—*Vide Chalmers's Biog. Dict.*

found them very pretty, and Coll. Dillon there, a very merry and witty companion, but methinks they live in a gaudy but very poor condition. At night from the Privy Seale, Mr. Woodson and Mr. Jennings and I to the Sun Taverne till it was late, and from thence to my Lord's, where my wife was come from Mrs. Blackburne's to me, and after I had done some business with my Lord, she and I went to Mrs. Hunt's, who would needs have us lie at her house to-night.

9th. With Judge Advocate Fowler, Mr. Creed, and Mr. Shepley to the Rhenish Wine-house, and Captain Hayward of the Plymouth, who is now ordered to carry my Lord Winchelsea, Ambassador to Constantinople. We were very merry, and Judge Advocate did give Captain Hayward his Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy.

10th. With Mr. Moore and Creed to Hide-parke by coach, and saw a fine foot-race three times round the Park, between an Irishman and Crow, that was once my Lord Claypoole's¹ footman. (By the way I cannot forget that my Lord Claypoole did the other day make enquiry of Mrs. Hunt, concerning my House in Axe-yard, and did set her on work to get it of me for him, which methinks is a very great change.) Crow beat the other by above two miles. Returned from Hide Park, I went to my Lord's, and took Will by coach and went home, taking my

¹ John Lord Claypoole married, in 1645, Elizabeth, second daughter of Oliver Cromwell, to whom he became Master of the Horse, and a Lord of the Bedchamber: he was also placed in his father-in-law's Upper House. During Richard Cromwell's time he retained all his places at Court; and at the Restoration, never having made an enemy whilst his relations were in power, he was not molested, and lived till 1688. His father had been proceeded against in the Star Chamber, for resisting the payment of Ship Money, and was by Cromwell constituted Clerk of the Hanaper, and created a Baronet.

lute home with me. It had been all this while since I came from sea at my Lord's for him to play on. For this month or two it is not imaginable how busy my head has been, so that I have neglected to write letters to my uncle Robert in answer to many of his, and to other friends, nor indeed have I done anything as to my own family, and especially this month my waiting at the Privy Seale makes me much more unable to think of anything, because of my constant attendance there after I have done at the Navy Office. But blessed be God for my good chance of the Privy Seale, where I get every day I believe about 3*l*. This place my Lord did give me by chance, neither he nor I thinking it to be of the worth that he and I find it to be. Never since I was a man in the world was I ever so great a stranger to publique affairs as now I am, having not read a new book or anything like it, or enquired after any news, or what the Parliament do, or in any wise how things go. Many people look after my house in Axe-yard to hire it, so that I am troubled with them, and I have a great mind to get the money to buy goods for my house at the Navy Office, and yet I am loth to put it off because Mr. Man bids me 1000*l*. for my office, which is so great a sum that I am loth to settle myself at my new house, lest I should take Mr. Man's offer in case I found my Lord willing to it.

11th. To my Lord this morning, who did give me order to get some things ready against the afternoon for the Admiralty where we would meet. To the Privy Seale, and from thence going to my own house in Axe-yard, I went in to Mrs. Crisp's, where I met with Mr. Hartlibb, for whom I wrote a letter for my Lord to sign for a ship for his brother and sister, who went away hence this day to Gravesend, and from thence to Holland. Thence to my Lord's

to dinner with Mr. Shepley, so to the Privy Seale, and at night home, and then sent for the barber, and was trimmed in the kitchen, the first time that ever I was so. I was vexed this night that W. Hewer was out of doors till ten at night, but was pretty well satisfied again when my wife told me that he wept because I was angry, though indeed he did give me a good reason for his being out, but I thought it a good occasion to let him know that I do expect his being at home. So to bed.

12th. Lord's day. To my Lord, and with him to White Hall Chappell, where Mr. Calamy preached, and made a good sermon upon these words "To whom much is given, of him much is required." He was very officious with his three reverences to the King, as others do. After sermon a brave anthem of Captain Cooke's,¹ which he himself sung, and the King was well pleased with it. My Lord dined at my Lord Chamberlin's,² and I at his house with Mr. Shepley. After dinner I went to walk, and meeting Mrs. Lane of Westminster Hall, I took her to my Lord's, and did give her a bottle of wine in the garden, where Mr. Fairbrother, of Cambridge, did come and found us, and drank with us. Home and to bed.

13th. A sitting day at our office. After dinner to Whitehall, to the Privy Seale, whither my father came to me and told me that he had propounded Mr. John Pickering for Sir Thomas Honywood's daughter, which I think he do not deserve for his own merit. I know not what he may 'do for his estate. Then I to my Lord's, where he told me that he would suddenly go into the country, and so did commend the business of his sea commission to

¹ Henry Cooke, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, and an excellent musician. Ob. 1672.

² The Earl of Manchester.

me in his absence. After that home by coach, and took my 100*l.* that I had formerly left at Mr. Rawlinson's, home with me, which is the first that ever I was master of at once. To prayers, and to bed.

14th. To the Privy Seale, and thence to my Lord's, where Mr. Pim, the taylor, and I agreed upon making me a velvet coat. From thence to the Privy Seale again, where Sir Samuel Morland came in with a Baronet's grant to pass, which the King had given him to make money of. Here he staid with me a great while; and he told me the whole manner of his serving the King in the time of the Protector; and how Thurloe's bad usage made him to do it; how he discovered Sir R. Willis, and how he had sunk his fortune for the King; and that now the King had given him a pension of 500*l.* per annum out of the Post Office for life, and the benefit of two Baronets; all which do make me begin to think that he is not so much a fool as I took him to be. Home, and after dinner in comes young Captain Cuttance of the *Speedwell*, who is sent up for the gratuity given the seamen that brought the King over. He brought me a firkin of butter for my wife, which is very welcome. My father, after dinner, takes leave, after I had given him 40*s.* for the last half year for my brother John at Cambridge. I did also make even with Mr. Fairbrother for my degree of Master of Arts, which cost me about 9*l.* 16*s.* To White Hall, and my wife with me by water. At night home with her by water, where I made good sport with having the girle and the boy to comb my head, before I went to bed, in the kitchen.

15th. To the office, and after dinner by water to White Hall, where I found the King gone this morning by 5 of the clock to see a Dutch pleasure-boat below bridge, where he dines, and my Lord with him. The King do tire all his people that are



about him with early rising since he came. To the office all the afternoon, and thence to my Lord's, where he did give me direction about his business in his absence, he intending to go into the country to-morrow morning. Here I lay all night.

16th. This morning my Lord carried me by coach to Mr. Crew's, in the way talking how good he did hope my place would be to me, and in general speaking that it was not the salary of any place that did make a man rich, but the opportunity of getting money while he is in the place. He took leave, and so for Hinchinbroke. My Lady Jemimah and Mr. Thomas Crew in the coach with him.

17th. To the office, and that done home to dinner where Mr. Unthanke, my wife's tailor, dined with us, we have nothing but a dish of sheep's trotters. At night I and Creed and the Judge-Advocate went to Mr. Pim, the tailor's, who took us to the Half Moone, and there did give us great store of wine and anchovies, and would pay for them all. This night I saw Mr. Creed show many the strangest emotions to shift off his drink I ever saw in my life. By coach home and to bed.

18th. Towards Westminster by water, and landed my wife at Whitefriar's, with 5*l.* to buy her a petticoat. My father has persuaded her to buy a most fine cloth of 26*s.* a yard, and a rich lace, that the petticoat will come to 5*l.*, at which I was somewhat troubled, but she doing it very innocently, I could not be angry. I did give her more money, and sent her away. Captain Ferrers took me and Creed to the Cockpitt play, the first that I have had time to see since my coming from sea, "The Loyall Subject,"¹ where one Kinaston,² a boy, acted the Duke's sister,

¹ A tragi-comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

² Edward Kynaston, engaged by Sir W. Davenant in 1660, to perform the principal female characters: he afterwards assumed

but made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life. After the play done, we three went to drink, and by Captain Ferrer's means, Kinaston and another that acted Archas, the General, came and drank with us. Hence home by coach, and after being trimmed, leaving my wife to look after her little bitch, which was just now a-whelping, I to bed.

19th (Lord's day). This morning Sir W. Batten, Pen, and myself, went to church to the churchwardens, to demand a pew, which at present could not be given us, but we are resolved to have one built. So we staid and heard Mr. Mills, a very good minister. Home to dinner, where my wife had on her new petticoat that she bought yesterday, which indeed is a very fine cloth and a fine lace; but that being of a light colour, and the lace all silver, it makes no great show. Mr. Creed and my brother Tom dined with me. After they were gone, I went up to put my papers in order, and finding my wife's clothes lie carelessly laid up, I was angry with her, which I was troubled for. After that my wife and I went and walked in the garden, and so home to bed.

20th (Office day). As Sir W. Pen and I were walking in the garden, a messenger came to me from the Duke of York to fetch me to the Lord Chancellor. So I went with Mrs. Turner in her coach as far as Worcester House, but my Lord Chancellor being gone to the House of Lords, I went thither, and (there being a law case before them this day) got in, and there staid all the morning, seeing their manner of sitting on woolpacks, &c., which I never did before. After the House was up, I spoke to my Lord, and had order from him to come to him at night. This afternoon at the Privy Seale, where reckoning with

the male ones in the first parts of tragedy, and continued on the stage till the end of King William's reign. The period of his death is not known.

Mr. Moore, he had got 100*l*. for me together, which I was glad of, guessing that the profits of this month would come to 100*l*. With W. Hewer by coach to Worcester House, where I light, sending him home with the 100*l*. that I received to-day. Here I staid, and saw my Lord Chancellor come into his Great Hall, where wonderful how much company there was to expect him at a Seale. Before he would begin any business, he took my papers of the state of the debts of the Fleet, and there viewed them before all the people, and did give me his advice privately how to order things, to get as much money as we can of the Parliament. That being done, I went home, where I found all my things come home from sea, of which I was glad, though many of the things are quite spoilt with mould by reason of being so long a shipboard, and my cabin being not even. I spent much time to dispose of them to-night, and so to bed.

21st. This morning I went to White Hall with Sir W. Pen by water, who in our passage told me how he was bred up under Sir W. Batten. We went to Mr. Coventry's chamber, and consulted of drawing my papers of debts of the Navy against the afternoon for the Committee. So to Westminster, where I met Mr. Crew and dined with him, where there dined one Mr. Hickeman, an Oxford man, who spoke very much against the height of the now old clergy, for putting out many of the religious fellows of Colleges, and inveighing against them for their being drunk, which, if true, I am sorry to hear. After that towards Westminster, where I called on Mr. Pim, and there found my velvet coat (the first that ever I had), and a velvet mantle, which I took to the Privy Seale Office, and there locked them up, and then to the Queen's Court, and there Colonel Birch read my papers, and desired some addition. Then

meeting Monsieur Eschar (Mr. Montagu's man), about the Savoy, he took Mr. Creed and me to the Brazennose Taverne, and there drank and so parted, and I home by coach, and there, it being post-night, I wrote to my Lord to give him notice that all things are well ; that General Monk is made Lieutenant of Ireland, which my Lord Roberts¹ (made Deputy) do not like of, to be Deputy to any man but the King himself.

22nd. Office, which done, Sir W. Pen took me into the garden, and there told me how Mr. Turner do intend to petition the Duke for an allowance extra as one of the Clerks of the Navy, which he desired me to join with him in the furthering of, which I promised to do so that it did not reflect upon me or to my damage to have any other added, as if I was not able to perform my place. In the House, after the Committee was up, I met with Mr. G. Montagu, and joyed him in his entrance (this being his 3d day) for Dover. Here he made me sit all alone in the House, none but he and I, half an hour, discoursing how things stand, and in short he told me how there was like to be many factions at Court between Marquis Ormond,² General Monk, and the Lord Roberts, about the business of Ireland ; as there is already between the two Houses about the Act of Indemnity ; and in the House of Commons, between the Episcopalian and Presbyterian men. Hence to my father's (walking with Mr. Herring, the minister of St. Bride's), and took them to the Sun Taverne. So home and to bed.

23rd. By water to Doctors' Commons to Dr.

¹ John, second Lord Robartes, advanced to the dignity of Earl of Radnor, 1679. Ob. 1685.

² James, afterwards created Duke of Ormond, and K.G., and twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Walker,¹ to give him my Lord's papers to view over, concerning his being empowered to be Vice-Admiral under the Duke of York. Thence by water to White Hall, to the Parliament House, where I spoke with Colonel Birch,² and so to the Admiralty chamber, where we and Mr. Coventry had a meeting about several businesses. Amongst others, it was moved that Phineas Pett³ (kinsman to the commissioner) of Chatham, should be suspended his employment till he had answered some articles put in against him, as that he should formerly say that the King was a bastard and his mother a strumpet. Hence to Westminster Hall, where I met with my father, Bowyer, and Mr. Spicer, and them I took to the Leg in King Street, and did give them a dish or two of meat, and so away to the Privy Seale, where, the King being out of town, we have had nothing to do these two days. To Westminster Hall, where I met with W. Symons, &c., and with them to the Dogg, where we eat a musk melon, the first that I have eat this year.

25th. This night W. Hewer brought me home⁴ from Mr. Pim's my velvet coat and cap, the first that ever I had.

26th (Lord's day). With Sir W. Pen to the parish church, where we are placed in the highest pew of all. A stranger preached a dry and tedious long sermon. Dined at home. To church again in the afternoon with my wife; in the garden and on the leads at night, and so to supper and to bed.

27th. This morning comes one with a vessel of

¹ One of the Judges of the Admiralty.

² Colonel John Birch represented Leominster at that time, and afterwards Penrhyn. He was an active Member of Parliament.

³ Phineas Pett, an eminent ship-builder employed by the Admiralty.

⁴ From the Privy Seal Office, see August 21st. (M. B.)

Northdown ale from Mr. Pierce, the purser, to me, and after him another with a brave Turkey carpet and a jar of olives from Captain Cuttance, and a pair of fine turtle doves to my wife. These things came up to-day in our smack, and my boy Ely came along with them, and came after office was done to see me. I did give him half a crowne because I saw that he was ready to cry to see that he could not be entertained by me here. In the afternoon to the Privy Seale, where good store of work now toward the end of the month. Major Hart came to me, whom I did receive with wine and anchovies, which made me so dry that I was ill with them all night, and was fain to have the girle rise and fetch me some drink.

28th. Sometime I spent this morning beginning to teach my wife some scale in musique, and found her apt beyond imagination. To the Privy Seale, where great store of work to-day. Colonel Scroope¹ is this day excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, which has been now long in coming out, but it is expected to-morrow. I carried home 80*l.* from the Privy Seale, by coach, and at night spent a little more time with my wife about her musique with great content. To bed, a little troubled that I fear my boy Will is a thief and has stole some money of mine, particularly a letter that Mr. Jenkins did leave the last week with me with half a crowne in it to send to his son.

29th (Office day). Before I went to the office my wife and I examined my boy Will about his stealing of things, but he denied all with the greatest subtlety and confidence in the world. To the office, and after office then to the Church, where we took another view of the place where we had resolved to build a gallery, and have set men about doing it. Home to dinner, and there I found my wife had discovered my boy

¹ Colonel Adrian Scroope, one of the persons who sat in judgment upon Charles I.

Will's theft and a great deal more than we imagined, at which I was vexed and intend to put him away. To my office at the Privy Seale in the afternoon, and then sent for my boy's father and talked with him about his son, and had his promise that if I will send home his boy, he will take him notwithstanding his indenture. To bed, and caused the boy's clothes to be brought up to my chamber. But after we were all a-bed, the wench (which lies in our chamber) called us to listen of a sudden, which put my wife into such a fright that she shook every joint of her, and a long time that I could not get her out of it. The noise was the boy, we did believe, got in a desperate mood out of his bed to do himself or William [Hewer] some mischief. But the wench went down and got a candle lighted, and finding the boy in bed, and locking the doors fast, with a candle burning all night, we slept well, but with a great deal of fear.

30th. We found all well in the morning below stairs, but the boy in a sad plight of seeming sorrow; but he is the most cunning rogue that ever I met with of his age. To White Hall, where I met with the Act of Indemnity (so long talked of and hoped for), with the Act of Rate for Pole-money, and for judicial proceedings. This the first day that ever I saw my wife wear black patches since we were married. My Lord came to town to-day.

31st. To my office in Seething Lane, dined at home, and after dinner to my Lord, who told me that he is ordered to go suddenly to sea, and did give me some orders to be drawing up against his going.

September 1st. Dined at the Bullhead upon the best venison pasty that ever I eat of in my life, and with one dish more, it was the best dinner I ever was at. Here rose in discourse at table a dispute between Mr. Moore and Dr. Clerke, the former affirming that

it was essential to a tragedy to have the argument of it true, which the Doctor denied, and left it to me to be judge, and the cause to be determined next Tuesday morning at the same place, upon the eating of the remains of the pasty, and the loser to pay 10s. All this afternoon sending express to the fleet, to order things against my Lord's coming: and taking direction of my Lord about some rich furniture to take along with him for the Princesse.¹ And talking of this, I hear by Mr. Townsend, that there is the greatest preparation against the Prince de Ligne's coming over from the King of Spain, that ever was in England for their Ambassador.

2nd (Sunday). To chappell, where Dr. Fern, a good honest sermon upon "The Lord is my shield." After sermon a dull anthem, and so to my Lord's and dined. So to St. Margaret's, and heard a good sermon upon the text "Teach us the old way," or something like it, wherein he ran over all the new tenets in policy and religion, which have brought us into all our late divisions.

3rd. Up and to Mr. —, the goldsmith, and there, with much ado, got him to put a gold ring to the jewell, which the King of Sweden did give my Lord: out of which my Lord had now taken the King's picture, and intends to make a George of it. About noon my Lord, having taken leave of the King in the Shield Gallery (where I saw with what kindnesse the King did hugg my Lord at his parting), I went over with him and saw him in his coach at Lambeth, and there took leave of him, he going to the Downes. Mr. Cooke came back from my Lord for me to get him some things, a toilet cap and comb case of silk, to make use of in Holland, for he goes to the Hague.

¹ The Princess of Orange. See note page 117.

4th. Looking over the joiners, who are flooring my dining-room, and doing business with Sir Williams, both at the office, and so to the Bullhead, where we had the remains of our pasty, where I did give my verdict against Mr. Moore upon last Saturday's wager, where Dr. Fuller coming in do confirm me in my verdict. So home by water, and there sat up late setting my papers in order, and teaching my wife her musique lesson, in which I take great pleasure. So to bed.

5th. To the office. Home to dinner, where I did so clear up my boy's roguery to his father, that he could not speak against my putting him away, and so I did give him 10s. for the boy's clothes, and tore his indentures. This day I saw our Dedimus to be sworn in the peace by, which will be shortly. In the evening my wife being a little impatient I went along with her to buy her a necklace of pearle, which will cost 4*l.* 10s., which I am willing to comply with her in for her encouragement, and because I have lately got money, having now above 200*l.* in cash beforehand in the world. Home, and having in our way bought a rabbit and two little lobsters, my wife and I did sup late, and so to bed. Great newes now-a-day of the Duke d'Anjou's¹ desire to marry the Princesse Henrietta. Hugh Peters is said to be taken. The Duke of Gloucester is ill, and it is said it will prove the small-pox.

6th. Sir W. Batten told me how Commissioner Pett did pay himself for the entertainment that he did give the King at Chatham at his coming in, and 20s. a day all the time he was in Holland, which I wonder at, and so I see there is a great deal of envy between the two. I am unwilling to mix my fortune with him that is going down the wind. Sent all my

¹ Only brother to Louis XIV.; became Duke of Orleans on the death of his uncle.

books to my Lord's, in order to send them to my house that I now dwell in.

7th. This day my Lord set sail for Holland.

8th. At night sent for by Sir W. Pen, with whom I sat late drinking a glass of wine and discoursing, and I find him to be a very sociable man, and an able man, and very cunning.

9th (Sunday). In the morning with Sir W. Pen to church. Home to dinner, and Sir W. Pen with me to such as I had, and it was very handsome, it being the first time that he ever saw my wife or house since he came hither. Afternoon to church with my wife, and after that home, and there walked with Major Hart, who came to see me, in the garden, who tells me that we are all like to be speedily disbanded, and then I lose the benefit of a muster.

10th (Office day). News of the Duke's intention to go to-morrow to the fleet for a day or two to meet his sister. Sent to hire two Catches for the present use of the Duke. So we landed at the Bear at the Bridge foot, where we saw Southwarke Fair, I having not at all seen Bartholemew Fair, and so to the Tower wharfe, where we did hire two catches.

11th. At Sir W. Batten's with Sir W. Pen we drank our morning draft, and from thence for an hour in the office. Dined at Sir W. Batten's, and by this time I see that we are like to have a very good correspondence, but chargeable. At night I caused the girle to wash the wainscot of our parlour, which she did very well, which caused my wife and I good sport. The Duke of York did go to-day by break of day to the Downs. The Duke of Gloucester ill. The House of Parliament was to adjourn to-day.

12th (Office day). My brother Tom came to my house with a letter from my brother John, wherein

he desires some books: Barthol. Anatom., Rosin. Rom. Antiqs., and Gassend. Astronomy, the last of which I did give him, and an angel against my father buying of the others. At home all the afternoon looking after my workmen, whose laziness do much trouble me.

13th. In the afternoon my wife went to the burial of a child of my cozen Scott's, and it is observable that within this month my Aunt Wight was brought to bed of two girles, my cozen Stradwick of a girle and a boy, and all died. Mr. Hawley did give me a little black rattoo, painted and gilt. Home by water. This day the Duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox, by the great negligence of the doctors.

14th (Office day). I got 42*l.* 15*s.* appointed me by bill for my employment of Secretary to the 4th of this month, it being the last money I shall receive upon that score. My wife went this afternoon to see my mother, who is very ill, at which my heart is very sad. In the afternoon Luellin, &c. came to my house, and he being drunk, and I being to defend the ladies from his kissing them, I kissed them myself very often with a great deal of mirth.

15th. To Westminster, where I met with Dr. Castles, who chidd me for some errors in our Privy-Seale business; among the rest, for letting the fees of the six judges pass unpaid, which I know not what to say to, till I speak to Mr. Moore. I was much troubled, for fear of being forced to pay the money myself. Called at my father's going home, and bespoke mourning for myself, for the death of the Duke of Gloucester.

16th (Sunday). To Dr. Hardy's church, and heard a good sermon upon the occasion of the Duke's death. His text was, "And is there any evil in the city and the Lord hath not done it?" Home to dinner, having some sport with Wm. Hewer,

who never had been at Common Prayer before. My Lord of Oxford¹ is also dead of the small-pox; in whom his family dyes, after 600 years having that honour in their family and name. To the Park, where I saw how far they had proceeded in the Pell-mell, and in making a river through the Park, which I had never seen before since it was begun. Thence to White Hall garden, where I saw the King in purple mourning for his brother. A gentleman in the Poultry had a great and dirty fall over a waterpipe that lay along the channel.

17th. I did give my wife 15*l.* this morning to go to buy mourning things for her and me, which she did. Went to see the Prince de Ligne, Spanish Ambassador, come in to his audience, which was done in very great state. I received 41*l.* for my interest in my house, and so I am freed of my poor little house. Home by link with my money under my arm. So to bed after I had looked over the things my wife had bought to-day, with which being not very well pleased, they costing too much, I went to bed in a discontent.

18th. By coach to Westminster Hall. So on foot home, by the way buying a hat band and other things for my mourning to-morrow. This day I heard that the Duke of York, upon the news of the death of his brother yesterday, came hither by post last night.

19th (Office day). I put on my mourning and went to the office. At noon I went to the Miter taverne² in Wood-streete (a house of the greatest note in London), where I met W. Symons, and

¹ This must be a mistake for some other person, Robert, nineteenth Earl of Oxford, having died in 1632, and Aubrey de Vere, his successor, the twentieth Earl, living till 1703.

² Kept by William Proctor, who died insolvent of the plague in 1665. See *Diary*, 31st July, 1665. (M. B.)

D. Scobell, and their wives, Mr. Samford, Luellin, Chetwind, one Mr. Vivion, and Mr. White,¹ formerly chaplin to the Lady Protectresse (and still so, and one they say that is likely to get my Lady Francesse for his wife). Here some of us fell to handycapp,² a sport that I never knew before, which was very good.

20th. At home, and at the office, and in the garden walking with both Sir Williams all the morning. After dinner to Major Hart's lodgings in Cannon-streete, who used me very kindly with wine and good discourse, particularly upon the ill method which Colonel Birch and the Committee use in defending of the army and the navy; promising the Parliament to save them a great deal of money, when we judge that it will cost the King more than if they had nothing to do with it, by reason of their delays and scrupulous enquirys into the account of both.

21st (Office day). There all the morning and afternoon till 4 o'clock. Thence to Whitehall. Back by water about 8 o'clock, and upon the water saw the corpse of the Duke of Gloucester brought down Somerset House stairs, to go by water to Westminster, to be buried. To the Hoope Taverne and sent for Mr. Chaplin, who with Nicholas Osborne and one Daniel came to us and we drank off two or three quarts of wine, which was very good;

¹ According to Noble, Jeremiah White married Lady Frances Cromwell's waiting-woman, in Oliver's life-time, and they lived together fifty years. Lady Frances had two husbands, Mr. Robert Rich, and Sir John Russell, the last of whom she survived fifty-two years, dying 1721-2.

² "A game at cards not unlike Loo, but with this difference, the winner of one trick has to put in a double stake, the winner of two tricks a triple stake, and so on. Thus, if six persons are playing, and the general stake is 1s., suppose A gains the three tricks, he gains 6s., and has to 'hand i' the cap,' or pool, 4s. for the next deal. Suppose A gains two tricks and B one, then A gains 4s. and B 2s., and A has to stake 3s. and B 2s. for the next deal." HINDLEY'S *Tavern Anecdotes*. (M. B.)

the drawing of our wine causing a great quarrel in the house between the two drawers which should draw us the best, which caused a great deal of noise and falling out till the master parted them, and came up to us and did give us a large account of the liberty that he gives his servants, all alike, to draw what wine they will to please his customers; and we did eat above 200 walnuts. Nicholas Osborne did give me a barrel of samphire, and showed me the keys of Mardyke Fort, which he that was commander of the fort sent him as a token when the fort was demolished, which I was mightily pleased to see, and I will get them of him if I can.

22nd. This morning I called up my boy (my maid's brother, who was gone to bed, and I could not see him last night), and I found him a pretty, well-looking boy, and one that I think will please me. At the New Exchange I bought a pair of short black stockings, to wear over a pair of silk ones for mourning; and here I met with The. Turner and Joyce, buying of things to go into mourning too for the Duke, which is now the mode of all the ladies in towne. This day Mr. Edw. Pickering is come from my Lord, and says that he left him well in Holland, and that he will be here within three or four days. To Westminster, where I bought a hanging jack. I had the boy up to-night for his sister to teach him to put me to bed, and I heard him read, which he did pretty well.

23rd (Lord's day). My wife got up to put on her mourning to-day and to go to Church this morning. I up and set down my journall for these 5 days past. This morning came one from my father's with a black cloth coat, made of my short cloak, to walk up and down in. To church my wife and I, with Sir W. Batten, where we heard of Mr. Mills a very good sermon upon these words, "So run that ye may

obtain." To the Abbey, where I expected to hear Mr. Baxter or Mr. Rowe preach their farewell sermon, and in Mr. Symons's pew I sat and heard Mr. Rowe. Before sermon I laughed at the reader, who in his prayer desires of God that He would imprint his word on the thumbs of our right hands and on the right great toes of our right feet. In the midst of the sermon some plaster fell from the top of the Abbey, that made me and all the rest in our pew afeard, and I wished myself out. This afternoon, the King having news of the Princesse being come to Margatte, he and the Duke of York went down thither in barges to her.

24th (Office day). From thence to dinner by coach with my wife to my Cozen Scott's. I arose from table and went to the Temple church, where I had appointed Sir W. Batten to meet him; and there at Sir Heneage Finch Solicitor General's chambers, before him and Sir W. Wilde, Recorder of London (whom we sent for from his chamber) we were sworn justices of peace for Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Southampton; with which honour I did find myself mightily pleased, though I am wholly ignorant in the duty of a justice of peace. From thence to my Lord's to enquire whether they have had any thing from my Lord or no. Knocking at the door, there passed by Mons. L'Impertinent [Mr. Butler] for whom I took a coach and went with him to a dancing meeting in Broad Street, at the house that was formerly the glass-house, Luke Channell Master of the School, where I saw good dancing, but it growing late, and the room very full of people and so very hot, I went home.

25th. To the office, where Sir W. Batten, Colonel Slingsby, and I sat awhile, and Sir R. Ford coming to us about some business, we talked together of the interest of this kingdom to have a peace with Spain

and a war with France and Holland ; where Sir R. Ford talked like a man of great reason and experience. And afterwards I did send for a cup of tee¹ (a China drink) of which I never had drank before, and went away (the King and the Princesse coming up the river this afternoon as we were at our pay). By coach to Westminster, to inquire for my Lord's coming thither, and I found him gone to Mr. Crew's, where I found him well. My Lord told me how the ship that brought the Princesse and him (The Tredagh) did knock six times upon the Kentish Knock, which put them in great fear for the ship ; but got off well. He told me also how the King had knighted Vice-Admiral Lawson and Sir Richard Stayner.

26th (Office day). That done to the church, to consult about our gallery. So home to dinner, and with the workmen all the afternoon, our house being in a most sad pickle. In the evening to the office, where I fell a-reading of Speed's geography for a while. So home thinking to have found Will at home, but he not being come home I was very angry, and when he came did give him a very great check for it, and so to bed.

28th (Office day). All the afternoon among my workmen till 10 or 11 at night, and did give them drink and very merry with them, it being my luck to meet with a sort of drolling workmen on all occasions.

¹ The *Mercurius Politicus* of September 30th, 1658, sets forth : "That excellent and by all Physicians, approved, China drink, called by the Chineans Tcha, by other nations Tay alias Tee, is sold at the Sultanness Head Coffee-House, in Sweetings Rents, by the Royal Exchange, London." Tea is said to have been occasionally sold in England as early as 1635 at the exorbitant price of from £6 to £10 the pound, and presents were made thereof to princes and grandees till the year 1657. The infusion of it in water was taxed by the gallon in common with chocolate and sherbet, 8*d.* a gallon each. (M. B.)

29th. All day at home to make an end of our dirty work of the plasterers, and indeed my kitchen is now so handsome that I did not repent of all the trouble that I have been put to, to have it done. This day or yesterday, I hear, Prince Rupert¹ is come to Court; but welcome to nobody.

30th (Lord's day). To our Parish church both forenoon and afternoon all alone. At night went to bed without prayers, my house being every where foul above stairs.

October 1st. Early to my Lord to Whitehall. Dined at home, and after dinner with my father to the Miter, where I drank a glass of wine with Mr. Mansell, a poor Reformado² of the Charles', who came to see me. The Commissioners are very busy disbanding of the army, which they say do cause great robbing. My layings out upon my house in furniture are so great that I fear I shall not be able to go through them without breaking one of my bags of 100*l.*, I having but 200*l.* yet in the world.

2nd. With Sir Wm. Pen by water to Whitehall, being visited before I went out by my brother Tom, who told me that for his lying out of doors a day and a night my father had forbade him to come any more into his house, at which I was troubled, and did soundly chide him for doing so, and upon confessing his fault I told him I would speak to my father. At Will's I met with Mr. Spicer, and with him to the Abbey to see them at vespers. There I found but a thin congregation already. So I see that religion, be it what it will, is but a humour, and so the esteem of it passeth as other things do. From thence by coach to my father's, and discoursed with him about

¹ Son of Frederic, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, afterwards styled King of Bohemia, by Elizabeth, only sister to Charles I. Ob. 1682.

² See p. 84.

Tom, and did give my advice to take him home again, which I think he will do in prudence rather than put him upon learning the way of being worse. So home, where my wife tells me what she has bought to-day, namely, a bed and furniture for her chamber, with which very well pleased I went to bed.

3d. To my Lord's, who sent a great iron chest to White Hall; and I saw it carried into the King's closet, where I saw most incomparable pictures. Among the rest a book open upon a desk, which I durst have sworn was a reall book. Back again to my Lord, and dined all alone with him, who did treat me with a great deal of respect; and after dinner did discourse an hour with me, and advise about some way to get himself some money to make up for all his great expenses, saying that he believed that he might have any thing that he would ask of the King. This day I heard the Duke speak of a great design that he and my Lord of Pembroke have, and a great many others, of sending a venture to some parts of Africa to dig for gold ore there. They intend to admit as many as will venture their money, and so make themselves a company. 250*l.* is the lowest share for every man. But I do not find that my Lord do much like it.

4th. I and Lieut. Lambert to Westminster Abbey, where we saw Dr. Frewen¹ translated to the Archbishoprick of York. Here I saw the Bishops of Winchester,² Bangor,³ Rochester,⁴ Bath and Wells,⁵ and Salisbury,⁶ all in their habits, in King Henry Seventh's chappell. But, Lord! at their going out,

¹ Dr. Accepted Frewen, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

² Brian Duppa, translated from Salisbury.

³ William Roberts.

⁴ John Warner, ob. 1666, aged 86.

⁵ William Pierce, translated from Peterborough, 1632.

⁶ Humphrey Henchman, afterwards Bishop of London.

how people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect. From thence to my Lord's to dinner, and after dinner Lieut. Lambert and I did look upon my Lord's model, and he told me many things in a ship that I desired to understand.

5th. Office day ; dined at home, and all the afternoon at home to see my painters make an end of their work, which they did to-day to my content.

6th. Col. Slingsby and I at the office getting a catch ready for the Prince de Ligne to carry his things away to-day, who is now going home again. About noon comes Mr. Creed, who brought me some books from Holland, well bound and good books, which I thought he did intend to give me, but I found that I must pay him. He dined with me and thence to Whitehall, where I was to give my Lord an account of the stacions and victualls of the fleet, in order to the choosing of a fleet fit for him to take to sea, to bring over the Queene.

7th (Lord's day). To White Hall on foot, calling at my father's to change my long black cloake for a short one (long cloakes being now quite out) ; but he being gone to church, I could not get one. I heard Dr. Spurstow¹ preach before the King a poor dry sermon ; but a very good anthem of Captn. Cooke's afterwards. To my Lord's and dined with him ; he all dinner time talking French to me, and telling me the story how the Duke of York hath got my Lord Chancellor's daughter with child, and that she do lay it to him, and that for certain he did promise her marriage, and had signed it with his blood, but that he by stealth had got the paper out of her cabinet. And that the King would have

¹ William Spurstow, D.D. Vicar of Hackney and Master of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, both which pieces of preferment he lost for nonconformity, 1662.

him to marry her, but that he will not. So that the thing is very bad for the Duke, and them all ; but my Lord do make light of it, as a thing that he believes is not a new thing for the Duke to do abroad. I perceive my Lord is grown a man very indifferent in all matters of religion, and so makes nothing of these things. After dinner to the Abbey, where I heard them read the church-service, but very ridiculously. A poor cold sermon of Dr. Lamb's, one of the prebends, in his habitt, came afterwards, and so all ended, and by my troth a pitiful sorry devotion that these men pay. So walked home by land, and before supper I read part of the Marian persecution in Mr. Fuller. So to supper, prayers, and to bed.

8th. Office day, and my wife being gone out to buy some household stuff, I dined all alone, and after dinner calling at several places about business, at my father's about gilded leather for my dining room. Then home and Mr. Moore with me, who staid and supped. We love one another's discourse so that we cannot part when we do meet.

9th. This morning Sir W. Batten with Coll. Birch to Deptford, to pay off two ships. Sir W. Pen and I staid to do business, and afterwards together to White Hall, where I went to my Lord, and saw in his chamber his picture, very well done ; and am with child till I get it copied out, which I hope to do when he is gone to sea. To Whitehall again, where at Mr. Coventry's chamber I met with Sir W. Pen again, and so with him to Redriffe by water, and from thence walked over the fields to Deptford, the first pleasant walk I have had a great while, and in our way had a great deal of merry discourse, and I find him to be a merry fellow and pretty good natured, and sings very loose songs. I found our gentlemen and Mr. Prin at the pay. About noon

we dined together, and were very merry at table telling of tales. After dinner to the pay of another ship till 10 at night, and so home in our barge, a clear moonshine night, and it was 12 o'clock before we got home, where I found my wife in bed, and part of our chambers hung to-day by the upholster, but not being well done I was fretted, and so in a discontent to bed. I found Mr. Prin a good, honest, plain man, but in his discourse not very free or pleasant. Among all the tales that passed among us to-day, he told us of one Damford, that, being a black man, did scald his beard with mince-pie, and it came up again all white in that place, and continued to his dying day. Sir W. Pen told us a good jest about some gentlemen blinding of the drawer, and who he caught was to pay the reckoning, and so they got away, and the master of the house coming up to see what his man did, his man got hold of him, thinking it to be one of the gentlemen, and told him that he was to pay the reckoning.

10th. Office day all the morning. At night comes Mr. Moore and tells me how Sir Hards. Waller,¹ (who only pleads guilty), Scott, Coke,² Peters,³ Harrison, &c. were this day arraigned at the bar of the Sessions House, there being upon the bench the Lord Mayor, General Monk, my Lord of Sandwich, &c.; such a bench of noblemen as had not been ever seen in England! They all seem to be dismayed, and will all be condemned without question. In Sir Orlando Bridgman's charge,⁴ he did wholly rip

¹ Sir Hardress Waller, Knt., one of Charles 1st's Judges. His sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life.

² Coke was Solicitor to the people of England.

³ Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher.

⁴ Eldest son of John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester, became, after the Restoration, successively Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and was created a Baronet.

up the unjustnesse of the war against the King from the beginning, and so it much reflects upon all the Long Parliament, though the King had pardoned them, yet they must hereby confess that the King do look upon them as traytors. To-morrow they are to plead what they have to say.

11th. In the morning to my Lord's, where I met with Mr. Creed, and with him and Mr. Blackburne to the Rhenish wine house, where we sat drinking of healths a great while, a thing which Mr. Blackburne formerly would not upon any terms have done. After we had done there Mr. Creed and I to the Leg in King Street, where he and I and my Will had a good udder to dinner, and from thence to walk in St. James's Park, where we observed the several engines at work to draw up water, with which sight I was very much pleased. Above all the rest, I liked that which Mr. Greator¹ brought, which is one round thing going within all with a pair of stairs round; round which being laid at an angle of 45°, do carry up the water with a great deal of ease. Here, in the Park, we met with Mr. Salisbury, who took Mr. Creed and me to the Cockpitt to see "The Moore of Venice," which was well done. Burt acted the Moore;² by the same token, a very pretty lady that sat by me, called out, to see Desdemona smothered. From thence with Mr. Creed to Hercules Pillars, where we drank and so parted, and I went home.

12th. Office day all the morning, and from thence with Sir W. Batten and the rest of the officers to a venison party of his at the Dolphin, where dined withal Col. Washington, Sir Edward Brett, and

¹ A mathematical instrument-maker.

² Burt ranked in the list of good actors after the Restoration, though he resigned the part of Othello to Hart. *Davis's Dramatic Misc.*

Major Norwood, very noble company. After dinner I went home, where I found Mr. Cooke, who told me that my Lady Sandwich is come to towne to-day, whereupon I went to Westminster to see her, and found her at supper, so she made me sit down all alone with her, and after supper staid and talked with her, she showing me most extraordinary love and kindness, and do give me good assurance of my uncle's resolution to make me his heir. From thence home and to bed.

13th. I went out to Charing Cross, to see Major-general Harrison¹ hanged, drawn, and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said, that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now had judged him; and that his wife do expect his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the blood of the King at Charing Cross. From thence to my Lord's, and took Capt. Cuttance and Mr. Shepley to the Sun Taverne, and did give them some oysters. After that I went by water home, where I was angry with my wife for her things lying about, and in my passion kicked the little fine basket, which I bought her in Holland, and broke it, which troubled me after I had done it. Within all the afternoon setting up shelves in my study.

14th (Lord's day). To White Hall chappell, where one Dr. Crofts made an indifferent sermon,

¹ Thomas Harrison, son of a butcher at Newcastle-under-Line, appointed by Cromwell to convey Charles I. from Windsor to White Hall, in order to his trial, and afterwards sat as one of his judges.

and after it an anthem, ill sung, which made the King laugh. Here I first did see the Princesse Royall since she came into England. Here I also observed, how the Duke of York and Mrs. Palmer did talk to one another very wantonly through the hangings that parts the King's closet and the closet where the ladies sit.

15th. Office all the morning. My wife and I by water; I landed her at Whitefriars, she went to my father's to dinner, it being my father's wedding day. This morning Mr. Carew¹ was hanged and quartered at Charing Cross; but his quarters, by a great favour, are not to be hanged up. I was forced to go to my Lord's. So I dined there, and went to White Hall, where I met with Sir W. Batten and Pen, who with the Comptroller, Treasurer, and Mr. Coventry (at his chamber) made up a list of such ships as are fit to be kept out for the winter guard, and the rest to be paid off by the Parliament when they can get money, which I doubt will not be a great while. That done, I took coach, and called my wife at my father's, and so home, where I fell to read "The Fruitless Precaution," a book formerly recommended by Dr. Clerke at sea to me, which I read in bed till I had made an end of it, and do find it the best writ tale that ever I read in my life.

16th. This morning my brother Tom came to me, with whom I made even for my last clothes to this day, and having eaten a dish of anchovies with him in the morning, my wife and I did intend to go forth to see a play at the Cockpit this afternoon, but Mr. Moore coming to me, my wife staid at home, and so with him to the Cockpit, where, understanding that "Wit without money" was acted, I would not stay, but went home. Being come home, Will. told me

¹ John Carew, one of the regicides.

that my Lord had a mind to speak with me to-night ; so I returned by water, and, coming there, it was only to enquire how the ships were provided with victuals that are to go with him to fetch over the Queene, which I gave him a good account of. He seemed to be in a melancholy humour, which, I was told by W. Howe, was for that he had lately lost a great deal of money at cards, which he fears he do too much addict himself to now-a-days.

18th. This morning, it being expected that Colonel Hacker¹ and Axtell² should die, I went to Newgate, but found they were reprieved till to-morrow. So to my father's, and did give orders for a pair of black baize linings to be made me for my breeches. At my coming home I did find that The. Turner hath sent for a pair of doves that my wife had promised her ; and because she did not send them in the best cage, she sent them back again with a scornful letter, with which I was angry, but yet pretty well pleased that she was crossed.

19th. This morning my dining-room was finished with greene serge hanging and gilt leather, which is very handsome. This morning Hacker and Axtell were hanged and quartered, as the rest are. This night I sat up late to make up my accounts ready against to-morrow for my Lord.

20th. I dined with my Lord and Lady ; he was very merry, and did talk very high how he would have a French cooke, and a master of his horse, and his lady and child to wear black patches ; which methought was strange, but he is become a perfect courtier ; and, among other things, my Lady saying that she could get a good merchant for her daughter Jem., he answered, that he would rather see her with

¹ Col. Francis Hacker commanded the guards at the King's execution.

² Axtell had guarded the High Court of Justice.

a pedlar's pack at her back, so she married a gentleman, than she should marry a citizen. This afternoon, going through London, and calling at Crowe's the upholsterer's, in Saint Bartholomew's, I saw the limbs of some of our new traytors set upon Aldersgate, which was a sad sight to see; and a bloody week this and the last have been, there being ten hanged, drawn, and quartered.

21st (Lord's day). To the Parish church in the morning, where a good sermon by Mr. Mills. After dinner to the Abbey, where I met George Vines, who carried me up to the top of his turret, where there is Cooke's head set up for a traytor, and Harrison's set up on the other side of Westminster Hall. Here I could see them plainly, as also a very fair prospect about London. To-day at noon (God forgive me) I strung my lute, which I had not touched a great while before.

22nd. Office day; after that to dinner at home upon some ribs of roast beef from the Cook's. After dinner to my Lord's, where I found all preparing for my Lord's going to sea to fetch the Queene to-morrow. At night my Lord came home, with whom I staid long, and talked of many things. Among others I got leave to have his picture, that was done by Lilly, copied. Talking of religion, I found him to be a perfect Sceptic, and he said that all things would not be well while there was so much preaching, and that it would be better if nothing but Homilies were to be read in Churches. He told me there hath been a meeting before the King and my Lord Chancellor, of some Episcopalian and Presbyterian Divines; but what had passed he could not tell me.

23rd. We rose early in the morning to get things ready for my Lord, and Mr. Shepley going to put up his pistols, which were charged with bullets, into the holsters, one of them flew off, and it pleased God

that, the mouth of the gun being downwards, it did us no hurt, but I think I never was in more danger in my life, which put me into a great fright. About eight o'clock my Lord went ; and going through the garden my Lord met with Mr. William Montagu, who told him of an estate of land lately come into the King's hands, that he had a mind my Lord should beg. To which end my Lord writ a letter presently to my Lord Chancellor to do it for him, which (after leave taken of my Lord at White Hall bridge) I did carry to Warwick House to him ; and had a fair promise of him, that he would do it this day for my Lord. In my way thither I met the Lord Chancellor and all the Judges riding on horse-back and going to Westminster Hall, it being the first day of the terme, which was the first time I ever saw any such solemnity. Thence I met with Catan Stirpin in mourning, who told me that her mistress was lately dead of the small pox, and that she was now married to Monsieur Petit. I found by a letter that she shewed of her husband's to the King, that he is a right Frenchman, and full of their own projects, he having a design to reform the universities, and to institute schools for the learning of all languages, to speak them naturally and not by rule, which I know will come to nothing. To my Lord's, from thence I took my Lord's picture, and carried it to Mr. de Cretz to be copied. So to White Hall, where I met Mr. Spong, and went home with him and played, and sang, and eat with him and his mother. After supper we looked over many books, and instruments of his, especially his wooden jack in his chimney, which goes with the smoke, which indeed is very pretty. I found him to be as ingenious and good-natured a man as ever I met with in my life, and cannot admire him enough, he being so plain and illiterate a man as he is.

24th. Office day. I took occasion to be angry with my wife before I rose about her putting up of half a crowne of mine in a paper box, which she had forgot where she had lain it. But we were friends again as we are always. To the office, so home to dinner, where I found Captain Murford, who did put 3*l*. into my hands for a friendship I had done him, but I would not take it, but bade him keep it till he has enough to buy my wife a necklace. To White Hall, in my way met with Mr. Moore. He tells me, among other things, that the Duke of York is now sorry for his amour with my Lord Chancellor's daughter, who is now brought to bed of a boy. To Mr. Lilly's¹ where, not finding Mr. Spong, I went to Mr. Greatorex, where I met him, and so to an alehouse, where I bought of him a drawing pen; and he did show me the manner of the lamp-glasses, which carry the light a great way, good to read in bed by, and I intend to have one of them. So to Mr. Lilly's with Mr. Spong, where well received, there being a clubb to-night among his friends. Among the rest Esquire Ashmole,² who I found was a very ingenious gentleman. With him we two sang afterward in Mr. Lilly's study. That done, we all parted; and I home by coach, taking Mr. Booker with me, who did tell me a great many fooleries, which may be done by nativities, and blaming Mr. Lilly for writing to please his friends and to keep in with the times (as he did formerly to his own dishonour), and not according to the rules of art, by which he could not well erre, as he had done. I set him down at Lime-street end, and so home, where I found a box of Carpenter's tools sent by my cozen, Thomas Pepys, which I had bespoke of him for to employ myself with sometimes. To bed.

¹ William Lilly, the astrologer and almanack-maker.

² Elias Ashmole, the antiquarian.

25th. All day at home doing something in order to the fitting of my house. In the evening to Westminster about business.

26th. Office. My father and Dr. Thomas Pepys dined at my house, the last of whom I did almost fox with Margate ale. My father is mightily pleased with my ordering of my house. After that I to Westminster to White Hall, where I saw the Duke de Soissons go from his audience with a very great deal of state : his own coach all red velvet covered with gold lace, and drawn by six barbes, and attended by twenty pages very rich in clothes. To Westminster Hall, and bought, among other books, one of the Life of our Queene, which I read at home to my wife ; but it was so sillily writ, that we did nothing but laugh at it : among other things it is dedicated to that paragon of virtue and beauty, the Duchess of Albemarle. Great talk as if the Duke of York do now own the marriage between him and the Chancellor's daughter.

27th. I went by chance by my new Lord Mayor's house (Sir Richard Browne), by Goldsmith's Hall, which is now fitting, and indeed is a very pretty house. In coming back I called at Paul's Churchyard and bought Alsted's Encyclopædia, which cost me 38s.

28th (Lord's day). To Westminster Abbey, where with much difficulty, going round by the cloysters, I got in ; this day being a great day for the consecrating of five Bishoppes, which was done after sermon ; but I could not get into Henry the Seventh's chappell. So I went to my Lord's, where I dined with my Lady, and my young Lord, and Mr. Sidney, who was sent for from Twickenham to see my Lord Mayor's show to-morrow. After dinner to White Hall chappell ; my Lady and my Lady Jemimah and I up to the King's closet (who is now

gone to meet the Queene). So meeting with one Mr. Hill, that did know my Lady, he did take us into the King's closet, and there we did stay all service-time, which I did think a great honour.

29th. I up early, it being my Lord Mayor's day (Sir Richd. Browne), and neglecting my office I went to the Wardrobe, where I met my Lady Sandwich and all the children; and after drinking of some strange and incomparable good clarett of Mr. Rumball's¹ he and Mr. Townsend¹ did take us, and set the young Lords at one Mr. Nevill's, a draper in Paul's churchyard; and my Lady and my Lady Pickering² and I to one Mr. Isaacson's, a linen-draper at the Key in Cheapside; where there was a company of fine ladies, and we were very civilly treated, and had a very good place to see the pageants, which were many, and I believe good, for such kind of things, but in themselves but poor and absurd. The show being done, we got as far as Paul's with much ado, where I left my Lady in the coach, and went on foot with my Lady Pickering to her lodging, which was a poor one in Blackfryars, where she never invited me to go in at all, which me thought was very strange. Home, where I was told how my Lady Davis is now come to our next lodgings, and has locked up the leades door from me, which puts me into so great a disquiet that I went to bed, and could not sleep till morning at it.

30th. Within all the morning, my mind being so troubled that I could not mind nor do anything till I spoke to the Comptroller to whom the lodgings belong. In the afternoon, to ease my mind, I went to the Cockpit all alone, and there saw a very fine play

¹ Officers of the Wardrobe.

² Elizabeth Montagu, sister to the Earl of Sandwich, who had married Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. of Nova Scotia, and of Tichmarsh, co. Northampton.

called "The Tamer tamed;"¹ very well acted. That being done, to the Hercules Pillars to drink, where we did read over the King's declaration in matters of religion, which is come out to-day, which is very well penned, I think to the satisfaction of most people. I hear nothing yet of my Lord, whether he be gone for the Queene from the Downes or no; but I believe he is, and that he is now upon coming back again.

31st. Office day. Much troubled all this morning in my mind about the business of my walk on the leades, but the comptroller and the rest of the principal officers are all unwilling to meddle in anything that may anger my Lady Davis. Home, and there I had news that Sir W. Pen is resolved to ride to Sir W. Batten's country house to-morrow, and would have me go with him, so I sat up late, getting together my things to ride in, and was fain to cut an old pair of boots to make leathers for those I was to wear. This month I conclude with my mind very heavy for the loss of the leades, as also for the greatness of my late expenses, insomuch that I do not think that I have above 150*l.* clear money in the world, but I have, I believe, got a great deal of good household stuff. I hear to-day that the Queene is landed at Dover, and will be here on Friday next, November 2nd.

November 1st. This morning Sir W. Pen and I were mounted early, and had very merry discourse all the way, he being very good company. We came to Sir W. Batten's, where he lives like a prince, and we were made very welcome. Among other things he showed us my Lady's closet, where was great store of rarities; as also a chair, which he calls King Harry's chaire, where he that sits down is

¹ "The Woman's Prize, or Tamer Tamed," a comedy by John Fletcher.

caught with two irons, that come round about him, which makes good sport. Here dined with us two or three more country gentlemen; among the rest Mr. Christmas, my old school-fellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remember that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said the day the King was beheaded (that, were I to preach upon him, my text should be—"The memory of the wicked shall rot"); but I found afterwards that he did go away from school before that time. He did make us good sport in imitating Mr. Case, Ash, and Nye, the ministers, but a deadly drinker he is, and grown exceeding fat. From his house to an ale-house near the church, where we sat and drank and were merry, and so we mounted for London again, Sir W. Batten with us. So home by moonlight.

2nd. Office. Then dined at home, and by chance Mr. Holliard called at dinner time and dined with me, with whom I had great discourse concerning the cure of the King's evil, which he do deny altogether any effect at all. In the afternoon I went forth and saw some silver bosses put upon my new Bible, which cost me 6s. 6d. the making, and 7s. 6d. the silver, which, with 9s. 6d., the book comes in all to 1l. 3s. 6d. From thence with Mr. Cooke that made them, and Mr. Stephens the silversmith to the tavern, and did give them a pint of wine. So to White Hall, where I saw the boats going very thick to Lambeth, and all the stairs to be full of people. I was told the Queen was a-coming; so I got a sculler for sixpence to carry me thither and back again, but I could not get to see the Queen; so come back, and to my Lord's, where he was come; and I supt with him, he being very merry, telling merry stories of the country mayors, how they entertained the King all

the way as he come along ; and how the country gentlewomen did hold up their heads to be kissed by the King, not taking his hand to kiss as they should do. I took leave of my Lord and Lady, and so took coach at White Hall and carried Mr. Childe as far as the Strand, and myself got as far as Ludgate by all the bonfires, but with a great deal of trouble ; and there the coachman desired that I would release him, for he durst not go further for the fires. So he would have had a shilling or 6*d.* for bringing of me so far ; but I had but 3*d.* about me and did give him it. In Paul's church-yard I called at Kirton's, and there they had got a masse book for me, which I bought and cost me twelve shillings ; and, when I came home, sat up late and read in it with great pleasure to my wife, to hear that she was long ago acquainted with that. So to bed. I observed this night very few bonfires in the City, not above three in all London, for the Queene's coming ; whereby I guess that (as I believed before) her coming do please but very few.

3*d.* Saturday. At home all the morning. In the afternoon to White Hall, where my Lord and Lady were gone to kiss the Queene's hand.

4*th* (Lord's day). In the morn to our own church, where Mr. Mills¹ did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer, by saying "Glory be to the Father, &c." after he had read the two psalms ; but the people had been so little used to it, that they could not tell what to answer. This declaration of the King's do give the Presbyterians some satisfaction, and a pretence to read the Common Prayer, which they would not do before because of their former

¹ Daniel Milles, D.D., thirty-two years rector of St. Olave's, Hart Street, and buried there October, 1689, aged sixty-three. In 1667 Sir Robert Brooks presented him to the rectory of Wanstead, which he also held till his death.

preaching against it. After dinner to Westminster, where I went to my Lord's, and having spoke with him, I went to the Abby, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a cathedral. Thence to my Lord's, where I found Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and with him and Mr. Shepley to see the seven Flanders mares that my Lord has bought lately, in our way calling at the Bell, where we drank several bottles of Hull ale. Hence to my father's, where I found my mother in greater and greater pain of the stone. So home and to bed. My wife seemed very pretty to-day, it being the first time I had given her leave to weare a black patch.¹

5th (Office day). Being disappointed of money, we failed of going to Deptford to pay off the Henrietta to-day. At the office at night, to make up an account of what the debts of nineteen of the twenty-five ships that should have been paid off, is increased since the adjournment of the Parliament, they being to sit again to-morrow. This 5th of November is observed exceeding well in the City; and at night great bonfires and fireworks.

6th. In the morning with Sir W. Batten and Pen by water to Westminster, and thence to the Hall, where we found the Parliament met to-day, and thence meeting with Mr. Chetwind, I took them to the Sun, and did give them a barrel of oysters, and had good discourse; among other things Mr. Chetwind told me how he did fear that this late business of the Duke of York's would prove fatal to my Lord Chancellor. To our office, where we met all, for the sale of two ships by an inch of candle (the first time that ever I saw any of this kind), where I observed how they do invite one another, and at last how they all do cry, and we have much to do to tell who did

¹ In 1602 it was fashionable to wear patches on the temples.—BUCKLE'S *Com. Place Book*, vol. ii. p. 128. (M. B.)

cry last. The ships were the Indian, sold for 1300*l*. and the Half-moone, sold for 830*l*. Home, and fell a-reading of the tryalls of the late men that were hanged for the King's death, and found good satisfaction in reading thereof. At night to bed, and my wife and I did fall out about the dog's being put down into the cellar, which I had a mind to have done because of his fouling the house, and I would have my will, and so we went to bed and lay all night in a quarrel. This night I was troubled all night with a dream that my wife was dead, which made me that I slept ill all night.

7th (Office day). Went by water to my Lord, where I dined with him, and he in a very merry humour (present Mr. Borfett and Childe) at dinner: he, in discourse of the great opinion of the virtue—gratitude (which he did account the greatest thing in the world to him, and had, therefore, in his mind been often troubled in the late times how to answer his gratitude to the King, who raised his father), did say it was that did bring him to his obedience to the King; and did also bless himself with his good fortune, in comparison to what it was when I was with him in the Sound, when he durst not own his correspondence with the King; which is a thing that I never did hear of to this day before; and I do from this raise an opinion of him, to be one of the most secret men in the world, which I was not so convinced of before. After dinner he bid all go out of the room, and did tell me how the King had promised him 4000*l*. per annum for ever, and had already given him a bill under his hand (which he showed me) for 4000*l*. that Mr. Fox¹ is to pay him.

¹ Afterwards Sir Stephen Fox. He was born in 1627, and is said to have belonged to the children's choir in Salisbury Cathedral. He was the first person to announce the death of Cromwell to Charles II. At the Restoration he was made First Clerk of the

My Lord did advise with me how to get this received, and to put out 3000*l.* into safe hands at use, and the other he will make use of for his present occasion. This he did advise with me about with much secrecy. After all this he called for the fiddles and books, and we two and W. Howe, and Mr. Childe, did sing and play some psalmes of Will. Lawes's,¹ and some songs; and so I went away. So I went to see my Lord's picture, which is almost done, and do please me very well. Hence to Whitehall to find out Mr. Fox, who did use me very civilly, but I did not see his lady, whom I had so long known when she was a mayde, Mrs. Whittle. From thence meeting my father Bowyer, I took him to Mr. Harper's, and there drank with him. Among other things in discourse he told me how my wife's brother had a horse at grass with him, which I was troubled to hear, it being his boldness upon my score. Home by coach. Notwithstanding this was the first day of the King's proclamation² against hackney coaches coming into the streets to stand to be hired, yet I got one to carry me home.

8th. This morning Sir Wm. and the Treasurer Green Cloth. He was soon afterwards appointed Paymaster to two newly raised regiments, and soon after that he was constituted Paymaster General of all his Majesty's forces in England. In 1665 he was knighted. Evelyn says, "*Dairy*," 6th, 1680: "Sir Stephen's lady (an excellent woman) is sister to Mr. Whittle, one of the King's chirurgeons. In a word, never was man more fortunate than Sir Stephen; he is a handsome person, virtuous, and very religious." He was one of the earliest projectors of Chelsea Hospital. He died in 1716 at his villa at Chiswick. Ninety years later his grandson, Charles James Fox, died in the same place. (M. B.)

¹ Brother to Henry Lawes the celebrated composer, and himself a chamber musician to Charles I., in whose service he took up arms, and was killed at the siege of Chester, 1645. The King regretted his loss severely, and used to call him the father of music.

² For the Proclamation see "*Notes and Queries*," First Series, vol. viii. p. 122. (M. B.)

and I went by barge with Sir W. Doyley and Mr. Prin to Deptford, to pay off the *Henrietta*, and had a good dinner. In the afternoon Commissioner Pett and I went on board the yacht, which indeed is one of the finest things that ever I saw for neatness and room in so small a vessel. Mr. Pett is to make one to outdo this for the honour of his country, which I fear he will scarce better. So went with some men that were going that way a great pace, and in our way we met with many merry seamen that had got their money paid them to-day. We got to London before two in the morning. So home, where I found my wife up, she shewed me her head which was very well dressed.

9th. Lay long in bed this morning. To the office, and from thence to dinner at the Hoope Taverne, our dinner given us by Mr. Ady and another, Mr. Wine, the King's fishmonger. Good sport with Mr. Talbot, who eats no sort of fish, and there was nothing else till we sent for a neat's tongue. From thence to Whitehall where I found my Lord, who had an organ set up to-day in his dining-room, but it seems an ugly one in the form of Bridewell. Thence I went to Sir Harry Wright's, where my Lord was busy at cards, and so I staid below with Mrs. Carter and Evans, who did give me a lesson upon the lute, till he came down, and having talked with him at the door about his late business of money, I went to my father's and staid late talking with my father about my sister Pall's coming to live with me if she would come and be as a servant (which my wife did seem to be pretty willing to do to-day), and he seems to take it very well, and intends to consider of it. Home and to bed.

10th. Up early. Sir Wm. Batten and I to make up an account of the wages of the officers and mariners at sea, ready to present to the Committee of Parlia-

ment this afternoon. Afterwards came the Treasurer and Comptroller, and sat all the morning till the business was done. The Comptroller¹ and I to the coffee-house, where he shewed me the state of his case; how the King did owe him about 6000*l*. But I do not see great likelihood for them to be paid, since they begin already in Parliament to dispute the paying of the just sea-debts, which were already promised to be paid, and will be the undoing of thousands if they be not paid. So to Paul's Church-yard, and there bought Montelion, which this year do not prove so good as the last was; so after reading it I burnt it. After reading of that and the comedy of the Rump, which is also very silly, I went to bed. This night going home, Will and I bought a goose.

11th (Lord's day). To Church into our new gallery, the first time it was used. There being no woman this day, we sat in the foremost pew, and behind us our servants, and I hope it will not always be so, it not being handsome for our servants to sit so equal with us. This day also did Mr. Mills begin to read all the Common Prayer, which I was glad of. Went to my father's where I found my wife, and there supped, and after supper we walked home, my little boy carrying a link, and Will leading my wife. So home and to prayers and to bed. I went to Mr. Fox's at Whitehall, when I first saw his lady, formerly Mrs. Elizabeth Whittle, whom I had formerly a great opinion of, and did make an anagram or two upon her name when I was a boy. She proves a very fine lady, and mother to fine children. To-day I agreed with Mr. Fox about my taking of the 4000*l*. of him that the King had given my Lord.

12th. Mr. Comptroller and I sat a while at the office, and thence I went with him to his house in

¹ Sir R. Slingsby.

Lime Street, a fine house, and where I never was before. I met with Jack Spicer and agreed with him to help me to tell money this afternoon. So back to the Hall, where by appointment I met the Comptroller, and with him and three or four Parliament men I dined at Heaven.¹ From thence walked to my father's, where I found my wife, who had been with my father to-day, buying of a tablecloth and a dozen of napkins of diaper, the first that ever I bought in my life. My father and I discoursed seriously about my sister's coming to live with me, which I have much mind for her good to have, and yet I am much afeard of her ill-nature. He and I, and my wife, my mother and Pall, went all together into the little room, and there I told her plainly what my mind was, to have her come not as a sister in any respect, but as a servant, which she promised me that she would, and with many thanks did weep for joy.

13th. Early going to my Lord's I met with Mr. Moore, and indeed I found him to be a most careful, painful,² and able man in business, and took him by water to the Wardrobe, and shewed him all the house; and indeed there is a great deal of room in it, but very ugly till my Lord hath bestowed great cost upon it. So home to dinner, where I found my wife making of pies and tarts to try her oven with, but not knowing the nature of it, did heat it too hot, and so a little overbake her things, but knows how to do better another time.

14th (Office day). But this day was the first that

¹ *Heaven* and *Hell* were two mean ale-houses abutting on Westminster Hall. There was another called *Purgatory*. See Ben Jonson:

“Nor break his fast
In Heaven and Hell.”

The Alchemist, act v. sc. ii. (M. B.)

² See note 17th March, 1661. (M. B.)

we do begin to sit in the afternoon, and not in the forenoon, and therefore I went into Cheapside to Mr. Beauchamp's, the goldsmith, to look out a piece of plate to give Mr. Fox from my Lord, for his favour about the 4000*l.*, and did choose a gilt tankard. So to Paul's Churchyard and bought "*Cornelianum Dolium.*" So home to dinner, and then to the office till late at night, and so Sir W. Pen, the Comptroller, and I to the Dolphin, where we found Sir W. Batten, and there we did drink a great quantity of sack and did tell many merry stories.

15th. To Westminster, and it being very cold upon the water I went all alone to the Sun and drank a draft of mulled wine. My Lord did this day show me the King's picture which was done in Flanders, that the King did promise my Lord before he ever saw him, and that we did expect to have had at sea before the King came to us; but it came but to-day, and indeed it is the most pleasant and the most like him that ever I saw picture in my life. As dinner was coming on table, my wife came to my Lord's, and I got her carried in to my Lady, who was just now hiring of a French mayde that was with her, and they could not understand one another till my wife came to interpret. Here I did leave my wife to dine with my Lord, the first time he ever did take notice of her as my wife, and did seem to have a just esteem for her. To Sir W. Batten's to dinner, he having a couple of servants married to-day; and so there was a great number of merchants, and others of good quality on purpose after dinner to make 'an offering, which, when dinner was done, we did, and I did give ten shillings and no more, though I believe most of the rest did give more, and did believe that I did so too. From thence to Mr. Fox and by two porters carried away the other 1000*l.* He was not within himself, but I had it of his kins-

man, and did give him 4*l*. and other servants something ; but whereas I did intend to have given Mr. Fox himself a piece of plate of 50*l*. I was demanded 100*l*., for the fee of the office at 6*d*. a pound, at which I was surprised, but, however, I did leave it there till I speak with my Lord. My wife I found much satisfied with my Lord's discourse and respect to her, and so after prayers to bed.

16th. Up early to my father's, where by appointment Mr. Moore came to me, and he and I to the Temple, and thence to Westminster Hall to speak with Mr. Wm. Montagu upon the title of those lands which I do take as security for 3000*l*. of my Lord's money. That being done Mr. Moore and I parted, and in the Hall I met with Mr. Fontleroy, my old acquaintance, whom I had not seen a long time, and he and I to the Swan, and in discourse he seems to be wise and say little, though I know things are changed against his mind. Thence home by water, where my father, Mr. Snow, and Moore did dine with me. After dinner Mr. Snow and I went up together to discourse about the putting out of 80*l*. to a man who lacks the money and would give me 15*l*. per annum for 8 years for it, which I did not think profit enough, and so he seemed to be disappointed by my refusal of it, but I would not now part with my money easily. He seems to do it as a great favour to me to offer to come in upon a way of getting of money, which they call Bottomry, which I do not yet understand, but do believe there may be something in it of great profit. After we were parted I went to the office, and there we sat all the afternoon, and at night we went to a barrel of oysters at Sir W. Batten's.

17th. In the morning to Whitehall, where I inquired at the Privy Seale Office for a form for a nobleman to make one his Chaplain. But I under-

standing that there is not any, I did draw up one, and so to my Lord's, and there I did give him it to sign for Mr. Turner to be his first Chaplain. I did also get my Lord to sign my last sea accounts. I dined with my Lord and my Lady Pickering, where her son John dined with us, who do continue a fool as he ever was since I knew him. His mother would fain marry him to get a portion for his sister Betty, but he will not hear of it. Hither came Major Hart this noon, who tells me that the Regiment is now disbanded, and that there is some money coming to me for it. Thence with Mr. Moore to the Devil Taverne¹ and there we drank. So home and wrote letters by the post. Then to my lyre viall, and to bed.

18th (Lord's day). In the morning to our own church, where Mr. Powel (a crooke legged man that went formerly with me to Paul's Schoole), preached a good sermon. In the afternoon to our own church and my wife with me (the first time that she and my Lady Batten came to sit in our new pew), and after sermon my Lady took us home and there we supped with her and Sir W. Batten, and Pen and I were much made of. The first time that ever my wife was there. So home and to bed.

19th (Office day). I went with the Treasurer in his coach to White Hall, and in our way, in discourse, do find him a very good-natured man; and, talking of those men who now stand condemned for murdering the King, he says that he believes that, if the law would give leave, the King is a man of so great compassion that he would wholly acquit them. Going to my Lord's I met with Mr. Shepley, and so he and I to the Sun, and I did give him a morning

¹ *Devil Taverne*. See note, 22nd April, 1661. (M. B.)

draft of Muscadine.¹ After that, hearing that Sir W. Batten was at the Leg in the Palace, I went thither, and there dined with him and some of the Trinity House men who had obtained something to-day at the House of Lords concerning the Ballast Office. After dinner I went by water to London to the Globe in Cornhill, and there did choose two pictures to hang up in my house. To the office and so home, and there came Mr. Beauchamp to me with the gilt tankard, and I did pay him for it 20*l*. So to my musique and sat up late at it, and so to bed, leaving my wife to sit up till 2 o'clock that she may call the wench up to wash.

20th. To my Lord, and then to the organ, where Mr. Childe and one Mr. Mackworth were playing, and so we played till dinner, where my Lord in a very good humour and kind to me. Then Mr. Shepley and I to the new play-house near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (which was formerly Gibbon's tennis-court), where the play of "Beggar's Bush"² was newly begun; and so we went in and saw it, it was well acted: and here I saw the first time one Moone,³ who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King, and indeed it is the finest play-house, I believe, that ever was in England. This morning I found my Lord in bed late, he having been with the King, Queen, and Princesse, at the Cockpit all night, where General Monk treated them; and after supper a play, where the

¹ *Muscadine* or *muscadel*, a rich sort of wine. *Vinum muscatum quod moschi odorem referat.*

"Quaffed off the *muscadel*, and threw the sops
All in the sexton's face."

SHAKESPEARE, *Taming of the Shrew*, act iii. sc. 2. (M. B.)

² The "Beggar's Bush," a comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

³ Mohun, or Moone, the celebrated actor, who had borne a Major's commission in the King's Army. The period of his death is uncertain.

King did put a great affront upon Singleton's musique, he bidding them stop and bade the French musique play, which, my Lord says, do much outdo all ours. While my Lord was rising, I went to Mr. Fox's, and there did leave the gilt tankard for Mrs. Fox, and then to the counting-house to him, who hath invited me and my wife to dine with him on Thursday next, and so to see the Queene and Princesses.

21st. This morning my cozen Thomas Pepys, the turner, sent me a cupp of lignum vitæ for a token. My wife and I went to Paternoster Rowe, and there we bought some greene watered moyre for a morning wastecoate. And after that we went to Mr. Cade's to choose some pictures for our house. After that my wife went home, and I to Pope's Head, and bought me an aggate hafted knife, which cost me 5s. At night to my viallin (the first time that I have played on it since I came to this house) in my dining roome, and afterwards to my lute there, and I took much pleasure to have the neighbours come forth into the yard to hear me. So to supper, and sent for the barber, so up to bed, leaving my wife to wash herself, and to do other things against to-morrow to go to court.

22d. This morning came the carpenters to make me a door at the other side of my house, going into the entry. At noon my wife and I walked to the Old Exchange, and there she bought her a white whisk¹ and put it on, and I a pair of gloves, and so we took coach for Whitehall to Mr. Fox's, where we found Mrs. Fox² within, and an alderman of London paying 1000*l.* or 1400*l.* in gold upon the table for

¹ *Whisk.* A sort of neck-dress, formerly worn by women.

(M. B.)

² Elizabeth, daughter of William Whittle, Esq., of Lancashire, wife of Stephen Fox, Esq., who was knighted in 1665.

the King, which was the most gold that ever I saw together in my life. Mr. Fox came in presently and did receive us with a great deal of respect; and then did take my wife and I to the Queene's presence-chamber, where he got my wife placed behind the Queene's chaire, and the two Princesses came to dinner. The Queene a very little plain old woman, and nothing more in her presence in any respect nor garbe than any ordinary woman. The Princesse of Orange I had often seen before. The Princesse Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation; and her dressing of herself with her haire frized short up to her eares, did make her seem so much the less to me. But my wife standing near her with two or three black patches on, and well dressed, did seem to me much handsomer than she. Dinner being done, we went to Mr. Fox's again, where many gentlemen dined with us, and most princely dinner all provided for me and my friends, but I bringing none but myself and wife, he did call the company to help to eate up so much good victualls. At the end of dinner, my Lord Sandwich's health was drunk in the gilt tankard that I did give to Mrs. Fox the other day. Thence I took coach for my wife and me homewards, and I light at the Maypole in the Strand, and sent my wife home. I to the new playhouse and saw part of the "Traitor," a very good Tragedy; Mr. Moon did act the Traitor very well. Thence to White Hall at about 9 at night, and there, with Laud the page that went with me, we could not get out of Henry the Eighth's gallery into the further part of the boarded gallery, where my Lord was walking with my Lord Ormond; and we had a key of Sir S. Morland's, but all would not do; till at last, by knocking, Mr. Harrison the door-keeper did open us the door, and, after some talk with my Lord about getting a catch to carry my

Lord St. Alban's¹ goods to France, I parted and went home on foot.

24th. Creed and Shepley and I to the Rhenish winehouse, and there I did give them two quarts of Wormwood wine, and so we broke up. To my Lord's, where I dined with my lady, there being Mr. Childe and Mrs. Borkett, who are never absent at dinner there, under pretence of a wooing. From thence I to Mr. de Cretz and did take away my Lord's picture, which is now finished for me, and I paid 3¹/₂. 10s. for it and the frame, and am well pleased with it and the price. So carried it home, and there had a fire in my closet, and fell to entering these two good songs of Mr. Lawes, "Helpe, helpe, O helpe," and "O God of Heaven and Hell" in my song book, to which I have got Mr. Childe to set the base to the Theorbo, and that done to bed.

25th (Lord's day). In the forenoon I alone to our church, and after dinner I went and ranged about to many churches, among the rest to the Temple, where I heard Dr. Wilkins a little (late Maister of Trinity in Cambridge). I had a letter brought me from my Lord to get a ship ready to carry the Queene's things over to France, she being to go within five or six days.

26th (Office day). My father come and dined with me, who seems to take much pleasure to have a son that is neat in his house. After dinner to the office again, and there till night. I heard that my Lady Batten had given my wife a visit (the first that ever she made her), which pleased me exceedingly.

27th. To Whitehall where I found my Lord gone abroad to the Wardrobe, whither he do now go every other morning, and do seem to resolve to

¹ Henry Jermyn, created Lord Jermyn 1614, advanced to the Earldom of St. Alban's 1660, K.G. Ob. 1683. s. p. He was supposed to be married to the Queen Dowager.

understand and look after the business himself. From thence to Westminster Hall, and in King Street there being a great stop of coaches, there was a falling out between a drayman and my Lord Chesterfield's coachman, and one of his footmen killed. To my Lord's again, where I found my wife, and she and I dined with him and my Lady, and great company of my Lord's friends, and my Lord did show us great respect. Soon as dinner was done my wife went to a christening, and I to a play, "The Scornfull Lady," and that being done, I went home-wards, and met Mr. Moore, who told me how the House had this day voted the King to have all the Excise for ever. This day I do also hear that the Queene's going to France is stopt, which do like me well, because then the King will be in towne the next month, which is my month again at the Privy Seale.

28th. To Whitehall to my Lord's, where Major Hart did pay me 23*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*, due to me upon my pay in my Lord's troop at the time of our disbanding, which is a great blessing to have without taking any law in the world for. But now I must put an end to any hopes of getting any more, so that I bless God for this. So home, where I found that Mr. Creed had sent me the 11*l.* 5*s.* that is due to me upon the remaynes of account for my sea business, which is also so much clear money to me, and my bill of impresse¹ for 30*l.* is also cleared, so that I am wholly clear as to the sea in all respects.

29th. In the afternoon Sir W. Batten and I met and did sell the ship Church for 440*l.*, and we [were] asked 391*l.*

30th (Office day). To the office, where Sir G.

¹ For "bill of imprest." In Italian *imprestare* means "to lend." In the ancient accounts of persons officially employed by the crown, money advanced, paid on account, was described as "de prestito," or "in prestitis." (M. B.)

Carteret did give us an account how Mr. Holland do intend to prevail with the Parliament to try his project of discharging the seamen all at present by ticket, and so promise interest to all men that will lend money upon them at eight per cent., for so long as they are unpaid; whereby he do think to take away the growing debt, which do now lie upon the kingdom for lack of present money to discharge the seamen. But this we are troubled at as some diminution to us. I having two barrels of oysters at home, I caused one of them and some wine to be brought to the inner room in the office, and there the Principal Officers did go and eat them. So we sat till noon, and then to dinner, and to it again in the afternoon till night. At home I sent for Mr. Hater, and broke the other barrel with him, and did afterwards sit down discoursing of sea terms to learn of him.

December 1st. This morning, observing some things to be laid up not as they should be by the girl, I took a broom and basted her till she cried extremely, which made me vexed, but before I went out I left her appeased. I went to my Lord St. Alban's lodgings, and found him in bed, talking to a priest (he looked like one) that leaned along over the side of the bed, and there I desired to know his mind about making the catch stay longer, which I got ready for him the other day. He seems to be a fine civil gentleman. To my Lord's, and did give up my audit of his accounts. I dined with my Lord and Lady, and we had a venison pasty. Mr. Shepley and I went into London, and calling upon Mr. Pinkney, the goldsmith, he took us to the tavern, and gave us a pint of wine, and there fell into our company old Mr. Flower and another gentleman, who tell us how a Scotch knight was killed basely the other day at the Fleece in Covent Garden, where there had been a great many formerly killed.

2d (Lord's day). To church, and Mr. Mills made a good sermon; so home to dinner. My wife and I all alone to a leg of mutton, the sawce of which being made sweet, I was angry at it, and eat none, but only dined upon the marrow bone that we had beside. To church in the afternoon, and after sermon took Tom Fuller's Church History and read over Henry the 8th's life in it, and so to supper and to bed.

3rd. This morning I took a resolution to rise early in the morning, and so I rose by candle, which I have not done all this winter, and spent my morning in fiddling till time to go to the office. After office home to dinner, where come in my cozen Snow by chance, and I had a very good capon to dinner. So to the office till night, and so home, and then come Mr. Davis, of Deptford (the first time that ever he was at my house), and after him Mons. L'Impertinent,¹ who is to go to Ireland to-morrow, and so came to take his leave of me. They both found me under the barber's hand; but I had a bottle of good sack in the house, and so made them very wellcome. After they were gone I fell a reading *Cornelianum Dolium* till 11 o'clock at night with great pleasure, and after that to bed.

4th. To the Duke of York, and he tooke us into his closet, and we did open to him our project of stopping the growing charge of the fleete by paying them in hand one moyety, and the other four months hence. This he do like, and we returned by his order to Sir G. Carteret's, and there we did draw up this design in order to be presented to the Parliament. This day the Parliament voted that the bodies of Oliver, Ireton, Bradshaw, &c., should be taken up out of their graves in the Abbey, and drawn to the gallows, and there hanged and buried

¹ Mr. Butler. (M. B.)

x under it : which (methinks) do trouble me that a man of so great courage as he was, should have that dishonour, though otherwise he might deserve it enough.

5th. After dinner I went to the New Theatre and there I saw "The Merry Wives of Windsor" acted, the humours of the country gentleman and the French doctor very well done, but the rest but very poorly, and Sir J. Falstaffe as bad as any.

6th. This morning some of the Commissioners of Parliament and Sir W. Batten paid off the Chesnut. I carried my wife to White Friars and myself to Whitehall to the Privy Seale, where abundance of pardons to seal, but I was much troubled for it because that there are no fees now coming for them to me. Thence Mr. Moore and I alone to the Leg in King Street and dined together on a neat's tongue and udder. Thence to my Lord, who told me of his going out of towne to-morrow to settle the militia in Huntingdonshire, and did desire me to lay up a box of some rich jewels and things that there are in it, which I promised to do. After much free discourse with my Lord, who tells me his mind as to his enlarging his family, &c., and desiring me to look him out a Master of the Horse and other servants, we parted. Home and found my girle knocking at the door (it being 11 o'clock at night), her mistress having sent her out for some trivial business, which did vex me when I came in and so I took occasion to go up and to bed in a pet. Before I went forth this morning, one came to me to give me notice that the Justices of Middlesex do meet to-morrow at Hicks Hall, and that as I am one am desired to be there, but I fear I cannot be there though I much desire it.

7th. To my Lord's, where I found my Lord gone this morning to Huntingdon. I staid and dined with

my Lady, and before dinner I examined [her page] Laud in his Latin and found him a very pretty boy and gone a great way in Latin. After dinner I took a box of some things of value that my Lord had left for me to carry to the Exchequer. So to the Privy Seale where I signed a deadly number of pardons, which do trouble me to get nothing by. I fell a-reading Fuller's History of Abbys, and my wife in Great Cyrus till twelve at night, and so to bed.

8th. To dinner with my wife to Mr. Pierce the Purser (the first time that ever I was at his house) who does live very plentifully and finely. We had a lovely chine of beef and other good things very complete and drank a great deal of wine and her daughter played after dinner upon the virginals¹ and at night by lanthorne home and I went to bed, having drunk so much wine that my head was troubled.

9th (Lord's day). Being called up early by Sir W. Batten I rose and went to his house and he told me the ill news that he had this morning from Woolwich, that the Assurance (formerly Captain Holland's ship, and now Captain Stoakes's, designed for Guiny and manned and victualled), was by a gust of wind sunk down to the bottom. Twenty men drowned. Sir Williams both went by barge thither to see how things are, and I am sent to the Duke of York to tell him. I went to the Duke. And first calling upon Mr. Coventry at his chamber, I went to the Duke's bed-side, who had sat up late last night, and lay long this morning. This being done I went to chappell, and sat in Mr. Blagrove's pew, and there did sing my part along with another before the King, and with much ease. From thence going to my

¹ *Virginals*. An instrument of the spinnet kind, but made quite rectangular, like a small pianoforte. Their name was probably derived from being used by young girls. Sometimes called a *pair of virginals*, but improperly. (M. B.)

Lady I met with a letter from my Lord, commanding me to go to Mr. Denham, to get a man to go to him to-morrow to Hinchinbroke, to contrive with him about some alterations in his house, which I did and got Mr. Kennard. Dined with my Lady and had infinite of talk of all kind of things, especially of beauty of men and women, with which she seems to be much pleased to talk of. From thence at night to Mr. Kennard and took him to Denham, the Surveyor's. From thence with Mr. Kennard to my Lady who is much pleased with him, and after a glass of sack there, we parted, having taken order for a horse or two for him and his servant to be gone to-morrow. Thence home, where I hear that the Comptroller had some business with me and he showed me a design of his, by the King's making an Order of Knights of the Sea, to give an encouragement for persons of honour to undertake the service of the sea, and he had done it with great pains and very ingeniously. So home and to prayers and to bed.

10th. Up exceedingly early to go to the Comptroller, but he not being up and it being a very fine, bright, moonshine morning I went and walked all alone twenty turnes in Cornhill, from Gracious Streete corner to the Stockes and back again. It is expected that the Duke will marry the Lord Chancellor's daughter at last; which is likely to be the ruine of Mr. Davis and my Lord Barkley, who have carried themselves so high against the Chancellor; Sir Chas. Barkley swearing that he and others had intrigued with her often, which all believe to be a lie.¹ Col.

¹ Sir Charles Berkeley, in the "Grammont Memoirs" improperly called Sir George Berkeley, afterwards Earl of Falmouth, was the confidant and favourite of the king. He was killed at Southwold Bay, in the seafight, June 2nd, 1665. For a more detailed account of the charge against the Chancellor, see the "Grammont Memoirs," page 163, Bohn's edition. (M. B.)

Slingsby and I in the evening to the Coffee House in Cornhill and I found much pleasure in it, through the diversity of company and discourse. From thence home and up to bed, having first been into my study, and to ease my mind did go to cast up how my cash stands, and I do find as near as I can that I am worth in money clear 240*l.*, for which God be praised. This afternoon there was a couple of men with me with a book in each of their hands, demanding money for poll-money, and I overlooked the book and saw myself set down Samuel Pepys, gent. 10*s.* for himself and for his servants 2*s.*, which I did presently pay without any dispute, but I fear I have not escaped so, and therefore I have long ago laid by 10*l.* for them, but I think I am not bound to discover myself.

11th. My wife and I up very early this day, and though the weather was very bad and the wind high, yet my Lady Batten and her mayde and we two did go by our barge to Woolwich (my Lady being very fearfull) where we found both Sir Williams and much other company, expecting the weather to be better, that they might go about weighing up the Assurance, which lies there (poor ship, that I have been twice merry in, in Captn. Holland's time,) under water, only the upper deck may be seen and the masts. Captain Stoakes is very melancholy, and being in search for some clothes and money of his, which he says he hath lost out of his cabin. I did the first office of a Justice of Peace to examine a seaman thereupon, but could find no reason to commit him. This last tide the Kingsale was also run aboard and lost her mainmast, by another ship, which makes us think it ominous to the Guiny voyage, to have two spoilt before they go out. After dinner, my Lady being very fearfull of her ships she staid and kept my wife there, and I and another gentleman, a friend of Sir

W. Pen's, went back in the barge, very merry by the way, as far as Whitehall in her. Mr. Moore has persuaded me to put out 250*l.* for 50*l.* per annum for eight years, and I think I shall do it. Thence home and to bed.

12th. To the Exchequer and did give my mother Bowyer a visit and her daughters, the first time that I have seen them since I went last to sea. My father did offer me six pieces of gold, in lieu of six pounds that he borrowed of me the other day, but it went against me to take it of him and therefore did not, though I was afterwards a little troubled that I did not. Home and to bed, reading myself asleep, while the wench sat mending my breeches by my bedside.

13th. All the day long looking upon my workmen who this day began to paint my parlour. I stepped to my Lady's, where Sir John Lawson and Captain Holmes were, and there we dined and had very good red wine of my Lady's own making in England.

14th. With the Comptroller at the office both forenoon and afternoon, and at night stepped a little with him to the Coffee House where we light upon very good company and had very good discourse concerning insects and their having a generative faculty as well as other creatures. The Comptroller told me among other persons that were heretofore the principal officers of the Navy, there was one Sir Peter Buck, a Clerk of the Acts, of which to myself I was not a little proud.

15th. All day at home looking upon my workmen, only at noon Mr. Moore came and brought me some things to sign for the Privy Seale and dined with me. We had three eeles that my wife and I bought this morning of a man, that cried them about, for our dinner.

16th. In the afternoon I to White Hall, where I

was surprised with the news of a plot against the King's person and my Lord Monk's; and that since last night there are about forty taken up on suspicion; and, amongst others, it was my lot to meet with Simon Beale, the Trumpeter, who took me and Tom Doling into the Guard in Scotland Yard, and showed us Major-General Overton.¹ Here I heard him deny that he is guilty of any such things; but that whereas it is said that he is found to have brought many armes to towne, he says it is only to sell them, as he will prove by oath. To my Lady's and staid with her an hour or two talking of the Duke of York and his lady, the Chancellor's daughter, between whom, she tells me, that all is agreed and he will marry her. But I know not how true yet.

17th. To the office where both Sir Williams were come from Woolwich, and tell us that, contrary to their expectations, the Assurance is got up, without much damage to her body, only to the goods that she hath within her, which argues her to be a strong, good ship. This day my parlour is gilded, which do please me well.

18th. All day at home, without stirring at all, looking after my workmen.

19th. This night Mr. Gauden sent me a great chine of beef and half a dozen of tongues.

20th. All day at home with my workmen, that I may get all done before Christmas. This day I hear that the Princesse Royall has the small pox.

21st. By water to Whitehall (leaving my wife at Whitefriars going to my father's to buy her a muff and mantle), there I signed many things at the Privy Seale and afterwards took Mr. Haley and W. Bowyer to the Swan and drank with them. They told me that this is St. Thomas's, and that by an old custome,

¹ One of Oliver Cromwell's Major-Generals: a high Republican.

this day the Exchequer men had formerly, and do intend this night to have a supper; which if I could I promised to come to, but did not. To my Lady's, and dined with her: she told me how dangerously ill the Princesse Royal is: and that this morning she was said to be dead. But she hears that she hath married herself to young Jermyn,¹ which is worse than the Duke of York's marrying the Chancellor's daughter, which is now publicly owned.

22nd. Went to the Sun taverne, on Fish Street hill, to a dinner of Captn. Teddimans, where was my Lord Inchiquin (who seems to be a very fine person), Sir W. Pen, Captn. Cuttance, and one Mr. Lawrence (a fine gentleman now going to Algiers), and other good company, where we had a very fine dinner, good musique, and a great deal of wine. We staid here very late, at last Sir W. Pen and I home together, he so overcome with wine that he could hardly go; I was forced to lead him through the streets and he was in a very merry and kind mood. I home, my head troubled with wine, and I very merry went to bed, my head akeing all night.

23rd (Lord's day). In the morning to Church, where our pew all covered with rosemary and baize. A stranger made a dull sermon. Home and found my wife and mayde with much ado had made shift to spit a great turkey sent me this week from Charles Carter, my old colleague, now minister in Huntingdonshire, but not at all roasted, and so I was fain to stay till two o'clock, and after that to church with my wife, and a good sermon there was, and so home.

24th. In the morning to the office and Commissioner Pett (who seldom comes there) told me that he had lately presented a piece of plate (being a couple of flaggons) to Mr. Coventry, but he did not receive them, which also put me upon doing the

¹ Henry Jermyn, Master of the Horse to the Duke of York.

same too; and so after dinner I went and chose a payre of candlesticks to be made ready for me at Alderman Backwell's. This day the Princesse Royall died at Whitehall.

25th (Christmas day). In the morning to church, where Mr. Mills made a very good sermon. After that home to dinner, where my wife and I and my brother Tom (who this morning came to see my wife's new mantle put on, which do please me very well), to a good shoulder of mutton and a chicken. After dinner to church again, my wife and I, where we had a dull sermon of a stranger, which made me sleep, and so home, and I, before and after supper, to my lute and Fuller's History.

26th. To my Lord's, where I found Sir Thomas Bond (whom I never saw before) with a message from the Queene about vessells for the carrying over of her goods. To White Hall by water, and dined with my Lady Sandwich, who at table did tell me how much fault was laid upon Dr. Frazer and the rest of the Doctors, for the death of the Princesse. My Lord did dine this day with Sir Henry Wright, in order to his going to sea with the Queene.

27th. In the morning to Alderman Backwell's again, where I found the candlesticks done, and went along with him in his coach to my Lord's and left the candlesticks with Mr. Shepley. I staid in the garden talking much with my Lord, who do show me much of his love and do communicate his mind in most things to me, which is my great content. This afternoon there came in a strange lord to Sir William Batten's by a mistake and enters discourse with him, so that we could not be rid of him till Sir Arn. Breames and Mr. Bens and Sir W. Pen fell a-drinking to him till he was drunk, and so sent him away. About the middle of the night I was very ill—I think with eating and drinking too much—and

so I was forced to call the mayde, who pleased my wife and I in her running up and down so innocently in her smock.

28th. Office day. There all the morning. Staid within all the afternoon and evening, at my lute, with great pleasure.

29th. Within all the morning. Several people to speak with me; Mr. Shepley for 100*l.*; Mr. Kennard and Warren, the merchant, about deales for my Lord. Captain Robert Blake lately come from the Straights about some Florence wine for my Lord, and with him I went to Sir W. Pen, who offering me a barrel of oysters I took them both home to my house (having by chance a good piece of roast beef at the fire for dinner), and there they dined with me. Thence to Alderman Backwell's and took a brave state-plate and cupp in lieu of the candlesticks that I had the other day and carried them by coach to my Lord's and left them there. Home with my father, he telling me what bad wives both my cozen Joyces make to their husbands, which I much wondered at. After talking of my sister's coming to me next week, I went home and to bed.

30th (Lord's day). Lay long in bed, and being up, I went with Will to my Lord's, calling in at many churches in my way. There I found Mr. Shepley in his Venetian cap taking physique in his chamber. Dined there, and after dinner Mr. Childe and I spent some time at the lute, and so promising to prick me some lessons to my theorbo he went away. I to the Abby and walked there, seeing the great confusion of people that come there to hear the organs.

31st. At the office all the morning and after that I went out, and in Paul's Church-yard I bought the play of "Henry the Fourth," and so went to the new Theatre and saw it acted; but my expectation

being too great, it did not please me, as otherwise I believe it would ; and my having a book, I believe did spoil it a little. That being done I went to my Lord's, where I found him private at cards with my Lord Lauderdale and some persons of honour, my boy taking a cat home with him from my Lord's, which Sarah had given him for my wife, we being much troubled with mice. At Whitehall inquiring for a coach, there was a Frenchman with one eye that was going my way, so he and I hired the coach between us and he set me down in Fenchurch Street. Strange how the fellow, without asking, did tell me all what he was, and how he had ran away from his father and come into England to serve the King, and now going back again.

1660-61. At the end of the last and the beginning of this year, I do live in one of the houses belonging to the Navy Office, as one of the principal officers, and have done now about half-a-year ; my family being, myself, my wife, Jane, Will. Hewer, and Wayneman, my girle's brother. Myself in constant good health, and in a most handsome and thriving condition. Blessed be Almighty God for it. As to things of State.—The King settled, and loved of all. The Duke of York matched to my Lord Chancellor's daughter, which do not please many. The Queen upon her returne to France with the Princesse Henrietta.¹ The Princesse of Orange lately dead, and we into new mourning for her. We have been lately frightened with a great plot, and many taken up on it, and the fright not quite over. The Parliament, which had done all this great good to the King, beginning to grow factious, the King did dissolve it December 29th last, and another likely to be chosen

¹ Youngest daughter of Charles I., married soon after to Philip, Duke of Orleans, only brother of Louis XIV. She died suddenly in 1670, not without suspicion of having been poisoned.

speedily. I take myself now to be worth 300*l.* clear in money, and all my goods and all manner of debts paid, which are none at all.

1660-61. January 1st. Mr. Moore to my great comfort tells me that my fees will come to 80*l.* clear to myself, and about 25*l.* for him, which he hath got out of the pardons, though there be no fee due to me at all out of them. Then comes in my brother Thomas, and after him my father, Dr. Thomas Pepys, my uncle Fenner and his two sons (Anthony's only child dying this morning, yet he was so civil to come, and was pretty merry) to breakfast; and I had for them a barrel of oysters, a dish of neat's tongues, and a dish of anchovies, wine of all sorts, and North-downe ale. We were very merry till about eleven o'clock, and then they went away. At noon I carried my wife by coach to my cozen, Thomas Pepys, where we, with my father, Dr. Thomas, cozen Stradwick, Scott, and their wives, dined. Here I saw first his second wife, which is a very respectfull woman, but his dinner a sorry, poor dinner for a man of his estate, there being nothing but ordinary meat in it. To-day the King dined at a lord's, two doors from us. Mr. Moore and I went to Mr. Pierce's; in our way seeing the Duke of York bring his Lady this day to wait upon the Queene, the first time that ever she did since that great business; and the Queene is said to receive her now with much respect and love; and there he cast up the fees, and I told¹

¹ *Told*, that is, "counted." So *tale*, "counting or number." See Shakespeare, "*Tempest*," act ii. sc. 1, "*Macbeth*, act i. sc. 3; Exodus, v. 18, "Yet shall ye deliver the *tale* (the appointed number) of bricks." Milton's "*L'Allegro*:"

"And every shepherd *tells* his *tale*
Under the hawthorn in the dale."

That is, counts the number of his sheep. Hence "*Tellers* of the Exchequer," and *Tallies*, which word hereafter occurs frequently in the Diary. (M. B.)

ERRATUM.

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Dele, at p. 236, last line of note, "and Tallies,
which word hereafter occurs frequently in the
Diary."

the money, by the same token one 100*l.* bag, after I had told it, fell all about the room, and I fear I have lost some of it. Supped with them, and Mr. Pierce, the purser, and his wife and mine, where we had a calf's head carboned, but it was raw, we could not eat it, and a good hen. But she is such a slut that I do not love her victualls.

2d. My Lord did give me many commands in his business. As about taking care to write to my uncle that Mr. Barnewell's papers should be locked up, in case he should die, he being now suspected to be very ill. Also about consulting with Mr. W. Montagu¹ for the settling of the 4000*l.* a-year that the King had promised my Lord. As also about getting of Mr. George Montagu to be chosen at Huntingdon this next Parliament, &c. That done he to White Hall stairs with much company, and I with him; where we took water for Lambeth, and there coach for Portsmouth. The Queene's things were all in White Hall Court ready to be sent away, and her Majesty ready to be gone an hour after to Hampton Court to-night, and so to be at Portsmouth on Saturday next. I by water to my office, and so home to dinner, where I found Pall (my sister) was come; but I do not let her sit down at table with me, which I do at first that she may not expect it hereafter from me. After dinner to Mr. George Montagu about the business of election, and he did give me a piece of gold; so to my Lord's and got the chest of plate brought to the Exchequer, and my brother Spicer put it into his treasury. So to Will's, with them to a pot of ale, and so parted. I took a turne in the Hall, and bought the King and Chancellor's speeches at the dissolving the Parliament last

¹ William, third son to Lord Montagu of Boughton; afterwards Attorney-General to the Queen; and made Chief Baron of the Exchequer, 1676.

Saturday. So to my Lord's, and took my money home. There stood a man at our door, when I carried it in, and saw me, which made me a little afeard¹. This day I lent Sir W. Batten and Captn. Rider my chine of beefe for to serve to-morrow at Trinity House, the Duke of Albemarle being to be there and all the rest of the Brethren, it being a great day for the reading over of their new Charter, which the King hath newly given them.

3d. To the Theatre, where was acted "Beggars' Bush," it being very well done; and here the first time that ever I saw women² come upon the stage. From thence to my father's, where I found my mother gone by Bird, the carrier, to Brampton, upon my uncle's great desire, my aunt being now in despair of life.

4th. Office all the morning, my wife and Pall being gone to my father's to dress dinner for Mr. Honiwood, my mother being gone out of town. Dined at home, and Mr. Moore with me, with whom I had been early this morning at White Hall, at the Jewell Office, to choose a piece of gilt plate for my Lord, in returne of his offering to the King (which it seems is usual at this time of year, and an Earle gives twenty pieces in gold in a purse to the King). I chose a gilt tankard, weighing 31 ounces and a half, and he is allowed 30; so I paid 12s. for the ounce and half over what he is to have; but strange

¹ *Afeard*. Always so spelt by Pepys in cipher for "afraid." Very common in Shakespeare.

"Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises."

Tempest, act iii. sc. 2. (M. B.)

² The year 1629 is to be marked as the first date at which any attempt was made in this country to introduce female performers on the public stage. In France and Italy the practice had long prevailed, and the experiment was tried here, though without success, by a company of French comedians at the Blackfriars Theatre.—BUCKLE, *Common-place Book*, vol. ii. p. 149. (M. B.)

it was for me to see what a company of small fees I was called upon by a great many to pay there, which, I perceive, is the manner that courtiers do get their estates. After dinner Mr. Moore and I to the theatre, where was "The Scornful Lady," acted very well, it being the first play that ever he saw.

5th. Several people came to me about business, among others the great Tom Fuller,¹ who came to desire a kindness for a friend of his, who hath a mind to go to Jamaica with these two ships that are going, which I promised to do. To Will's, and thence by coach home, staying a little in Paul's Churchyard, to bespeak Ogilby's *Æsop's Fables* and Tully's *Officys* to be bound for me.

6th (Lord's day). My wife and I to church this morning, and so home to dinner to a boiled leg of mutton. To church again, where, before sermon, a long Psalm was set that lasted an houre, while the sexton gathered his year's contribucion through the whole church. After sermon home, and there I went to my chamber and wrote a letter to send to Mr. Coventry, with a piece of plate along with it, which I do preserve among my other letters.

7th. This morning, news was brought to me to my bed-side, that there had been a great stir in the City this night by the Fanatiques, who had been up and killed six or seven men, but all are fled. My Lord Mayor and the whole City had been in armes, above 40,000. After dinner (leaving 12*d.* with the servants to buy a cake with at night, this day being kept as Twelfth day) Tom and I and my wife to the Theatre, and there saw "The Silent Woman." The first time

¹ So well known for his "Church History," in which is the "History of Abbys," mentioned in the *Diary*, 7th December, 1660, the "History of all the Families in England," see *Diary*, 22nd January, 1660-61, and his "Worthies of England," see *Diary*, 9th February, 1661-62. (M. B.)

that ever I did see it, and it is an excellent play. Among other things here, Kinaston, the boy, had the good turn to appear in three shapes: first, as a poor woman in ordinary clothes, to please Morose; then in fine clothes, as a gallant, and in them was clearly the prettiest woman in the whole house, and lastly, as a man; and then likewise did appear the handsomest man in the house. From thence by link to my cozen Stradwicke's, where my father and we and Dr. Pepys, Scott, and his wife, and one Mr. Ward and his; and after a good supper, we had an excellent cake, where the mark for the Queene was cut, and so there was two queens, my wife and Mrs. Ward; and the King being lost, they chose the Doctor to be King, so we made him send for some wine, and then home. In our way home we were in many places strictly examined, more than in the worst of times, there being great fears of these Fanatiques rising again: for the present I do not hear that any of them are taken. Being come home we found that my people had been very merry, but no harm.

8th. Will and I to Westminster, where I dined with my Lady. After dinner I took my Lord Hinchinbroke and Mr. Sidney to the Theatre, and shewed them "The Widdow," an indifferent good play, but wronged by the women being to seek in their parts. That being done, my Lord's coach waited for us, and so back to my Lady's, where she made me drink of some Florence wine, and did give me two bottles for my wife. Thence to Tom Pepys and bought a dozen of trenchers, and so home. Some talk to-day of a head of Fanatiques that do appear about Barnett, but I do not believe it. However, my Lord Mayor, Sir Richd. Browne, hath carried himself very honourably, and hath caused one of their meeting-houses in London to be pulled down.

9th. Waked in the morning about six o'clock, by people running up and down in Mr. Davis's house, talking that the Fanatiques were up in armes in the City. And so I rose and went forth; where in the street I found every body in armes at the doors. So I returned (though with no good courage at all, but that I might not seem to be afeared),¹ and got my sword and pistol, which, however, I had no powder to charge; and went to the door, where I found Sir R. Ford,² and with him I walked up and down as far as the Exchange, and there I left him. In our way, the streets full of train-bands, and great stories, what mischief these rogues have done; and I think near a dozen have been killed this morning on both sides. Seeing the city in this condition, the shops shut, and all things in trouble, I went home and sat, it being office day, till noon. So home, and dined at home, and after dinner to my uncle Wight's, and here I sat with my aunt till it was late, my uncle going forth about business, and my aunt being very fearful to be alone. So home to my lute till late, and then to bed, there being strict guards all night in the City, though most of the enemies, they say, are killed or taken.

10th. There comes Mr. Hawley to me and brings me my money for the quarter of a year's salary of my place under Downing that I was at sea. So I did give him half, whereof he did in his noblenesse give the odd 5s. to my Jane. Talking of his wooing afresh of Mrs. Lane, and of his going to serve the Bishop of London. After dinner Will. comes to tell me that he had presented my piece of plate to Mr. Coventry, who takes it very kindly, and sends me a very kind letter, and the plate back again; of

¹ See note, 2nd January, 1660-61. (M. B.)

² Lord Mayor of London, 1671.

which my heart is very glad. So to Mrs. Hunt, where I found a Frenchman, a lodger of her's, at dinner, and just as I came in was kissing my wife, which I did not like, though there could not be any hurt in it. Mr. Davis told us the particular examinations of these Fanatiques that are taken : and in short it is this, all these Fanatiques that have done all this, viz., routed all the train-bands that they met with, put the King's life-guards to the run, killed about twenty men, broke through the City gates twice ; and all this in the day-time, when all the City was in armes ;—are not in all above 31. Whereas we did believe them (because they were seen up and down in every place almost in the City, and had been about Highgate two or three days, and in several other places) to be at least 500. A thing that never was heard of, that so few men should dare and do so much mischief. Their word was, “ The King Jesus, and the heads upon the gates.” Few of them would receive any quarter, but such as were taken by force and kept alive ; expecting Jesus to come here and reign in the world presently, and will not believe yet but their work will be carried on though they die. The King this day came to towne.

11th. Office day. This day comes news, by letters from Portsmouth, that the Princesse Henrietta is fallen sick of the meazles on board the London, after the Queene and she was under sail. And so was forced to come back again into Portsmouth harbour ; and in their way, by negligence of the pilot, run upon the Horse sand. The Queene and she continue aboard, and do not intend to come on shore till she sees what will become of the young Princesse. This newes do make people think something indeed, that three of the Royal Family should fall sick of the same disease, one after another. This morning likewise,

we had order to see guards set in all the King's yards; and so Sir Wm. Batten goes to Chatham, Colonel Slingsby and I to Deptford and Woolwich. Portsmouth being a garrison, needs none. Dined at home, discontented that my wife do not go neater now she has two mayds. At night walked to Paul's Churchyard, and bespoke some books against next week, and from thence to the Coffee-house, where I met Captain Morrice, the upholster, who would fain have lent me a horse to-night to have rid with him upon the City-guards, with the Lord Mayor, there being some new expectations of these rogues; but I refused by reason of my going out of towne to-morrow. So home to bed.

12th. With Colonel Slingsby and a friend of his, Major Waters (a deafe and most amorous melancholy gentleman, who is under a despayr in love, as the Colonel told me, which makes him bad company, though a most good-natured man, by water to Redriffe, and so on foot to Deptford (our servants by water), where we fell to choosing four captains to command the guards, and choosing the place where to keep them, and other things in order thereunto. Never till now did I see the great authority of my place, all the captains of the fleete coming cap in hand to us. Having staid very late there I went home with Mr. Davis, storekeeper (whose wife is ill and so I could not see her), and was there most prince-like lodged, with so much respect and honour that I was at a loss how to behave myself.

13th. In the morning we all went to church, and sat in the pew belonging to us, where a cold sermon of a young man that never had preached before. So to the Globe to dinner, and then with Commissioner Pett to his lodgings there (which he hath for the present while he is building the King's yacht, which

will be a pretty thing, and much beyond the Dutchman's),¹ and from thence by coach to Greenwich Church, where a good sermon, a fine church, and a great company of handsome women. After sermon to Deptford again; where, at the Commissioner's and the Globe, we staid long. And so I to Mr. Davis's to bed again. But no sooner in bed, but we had an alarme, and so we rose: and the Comptroller comes into the Yard to us; and seamen of all the ships present repair to us, and there we armed with every one a handspike, with which they were as fierce as could be. At last we hear that it was only five or six men that did ride through the guard in the towne, without stopping to the guard that was there; and, some say, shot at them. But all being quiet there, we caused the seamen to go on board again.

14th. The armes being come this morning from the Tower, we caused them to be distributed. I spent much time walking with Lieutenant Lambert, walking up and down the yards, and he dined with us. After dinner Mrs. Pett lent us her coach, and carried us to Woolwich, where we did also dispose of the armes there and settle the guards. So to Mr. Pett's, the shipwright, and there supped, where he did treat us very handsomely (and strange it is to see what neat houses all the officers of the King's yards have), his wife a proper woman, and has been handsome, and yet has a pretty hand. Thence I with Mr. Ackworth to his house, where he has a very pretty house, and a very proper lovely woman to his wife. I went to bed, which was also most neat and fine.

15th. Up and down the yard all the morning and seeing the seamen exercise, which they do already very handsomely. Then to dinner at Mr. Ackworth's, where there also dined with us one Captain

¹ See *Diary*, 15th August, 1660. (M. B.)

Bethell, a friend of the Comptroller's. A good dinner and very handsome. After that and taking our leaves of the officers of the yard, we walked to the waterside and in our way walked into the rope-yard, where I do look into the tar-houses and other places, and took great notice of all the several works belonging to the making of a cable. So after a cupp of burnt wine at the tavern there we took barge and went to Blackwall and viewed the dock and the new Wett dock, which is newly made there, and a brave new merchantman which is to be launched shortly, and they say to be called the Royal Oake. Hence we walked to Dick-Shore¹ and thence to the Towre and so home. I perceive none of our officers care much for one another, but I do keep in with them all as much as I can. This day I hear the Princesse is recovered again. The King hath been this afternoon at Deptford, to see the yacht that Commissioner Pett is building, which will be very pretty; as also that that his brother at Woolwich is in making.

16th. This morning I went early to the Comptroller's and so with him by coach to Whitehall, to wait upon Mr. Coventry to give him an account of what we have done, which having done, I went away to wait upon my Lady; but coming to her lodgings I find that she is gone this morning to Chatham by coach, thinking to meet me there, which did trouble me exceedingly, and I did not know what to do, being loth to follow her, and yet could not imagine what she would do when she found me not there. In this trouble, I went to take a walk in Westminster

¹ *Dick Shore*, Limehouse. "This is now called *Duke Shore*, Fore Street. In Gascoigne's Map of Stepney, 1703, it is called *Dick Shoar*. Since that time Dick has become a Duke. Mr. Pepys would find boats there now, if he visited the spot."—*Notes and Queries*, vol. viii. p. 263. (M. B.)

Hall and by chance met with Mr. Childe, who went forth with my Lady to-day, but his horse being bad, he come back again, which then did trouble me more, so that I did resolve to go to her; and so by boate home and put on my boots, and so over to Southwarke to the post-house, and there took horse and guide to Dartford and thence to Rochester (I having good horses and good way, come thither about half-an-hour after daylight, which was before 6 o'clock and I set forth after two), where I found my Lady and her daughter Jem., and Mrs. Browne, and five servants, all at a great loss, not finding me here, but at my coming she was overjoyed. The sport was how she had intended to have kept herself unknown, and how the Captaine (whom she had sent for) of the Charles had forsoothed¹ her, though he knew her well and she him. In fine we supped merry and so to bed, there coming several of the Charles' men to see me before I got to bed. The page lay with me.

17th. Up, and breakfast with my Lady. Then come Captains Cuttance and Blake to carry her in the barge on board, and so we went through Ham Creeke to the Soverayne (a goodly sight all the way to see the brave ships that lie here) first, which is a most noble ship. I never saw her before. My Lady Sandwich, my Lady Jemimah, Mrs. Browne, Mrs. Grace, and Mary and the page, my lady's servants and myself, all went into the lanthorne together. From thence to the Charles, where my lady took great pleasure to see all the rooms, and to hear me tell her how things are when my Lord is there. After we had seen all, then the officers of the ship had prepared a handsome breakfast for her, and while she was pledging my Lord's health they give her five

¹ *Forsoothed*, i.e. treated contemptuously. (M. B.)

guns. That done, we went off, and then they give us thirteen guns more. I confess it was a great pleasure to myself to see the ship that I begun my good fortune in. From thence on board the Newcastle, to show my Lady the difference between a great and a small ship. Among these ships I did give away 7*l*. So back again and went on shore at Chatham, where I had ordered the coach to wait for us. Here I heard that Sir William Batten and his lady (who I knew were here, and did endeavour to avoyd) were now gone this morning to London. So we took coach, and I went into the coach, and went through the towne, without making stop at our inn, but left J. Goods to pay the reckoning. So I rode with my lady in the coach, and the page on the horse that I should have rid on—he desiring it. It begun to be darke before we could come to Dartford, and to rain hard, and the horses to fayle, which was our great care to prevent, for fear of my Lord's displeasure, so here we sat up for to-night, as also Captains Cuttance and Blake, who came along with us. We set and talked till supper, and at supper my Lady and I entered into a great dispute concerning what were best for a man to do with his estate—whether to make his elder son heire, which my Lady is for, and I against, but rather to make all equall. This discourse took us much time, till it was time to go to bed; but we being merry, we bade my Lady good-night, and intended to have gone to the Post-house to drink, and hear a pretty girle play of the citterne (and indeed we should have lain there, but by a mistake we did not), but it was late, and we could not hear her, and the guard came to examine what we were; so we returned to our Inn and to bed, the page and I in one bed, and the two captains in another, all in one chamber, where we had very good mirth with our most abominable lodging.

18th. The Captains went with me to the post-house about 9 o'clock, and after a morning draft I took horse and guide for London; and though some rain, and a great wind in my face, I got to London at eleven o'clock. At home found all well, but the monkey loose, which did anger me, and so I did strike her till she was almost dead, that they might make her fast again, which did still trouble me more. In the afternoon we met at the office and sat till night, and then I to see my father who I found well, and took him to Standing's to drink a cup of ale. I took Mr. Hollier to the Greyhound, where he did advise me above all things, both as to the stone and the decay of my memory (of which I now complain to him), to avoid drinking often, which I am resolved, if I can, to leave off. Hence home, and took home with me from the bookseller's Ogilby's *Æsop*, which he had bound for me, and indeed I am very much pleased with the book. Home and to bed.

19th. To the Comptroller's, and with him by coach to White Hall; in our way meeting Venner¹ and Pritchard upon a sledge, who with two more Fifth Monarchy men were hanged to-day, and the two first drawn and quartered. I went to the Leg in King Street and had a rabbit for myself and my Will, and after dinner I sent him home and myself went to the Theatre, where I saw "The Lost Lady," which do not please me much. Here I was troubled to be seen by four of our office clerks, which sat in the half-crowne box and I in the 1s. 6d. From thence by linke, and bought two mouse traps of Thomas Pepys, the Turner.

¹ Thomas Venner, a cooper, and preacher to a conventicle in Coleman-street. He was a violent enthusiast and leader in the Insurrection on the 7th of January before mentioned. He was much wounded before he could be taken, and fought with courage amounting to desperation.

20th (Lord's day). To Church in the morning. Dined at home. My wife and I to Church in the afternoon. Supped at my Uncle Wight's and were very merry and so home, and after prayers to write down my journall for the last five days, and so to bed.

21st. This morning Sir W. Batten, the Comptroller and I to Westminster, to the Commissioner for paying off the Army and Navy, where the Duke of Albemarle was; and we satt with our hatts on and did discourse about paying off the ships and do find that they do intend to undertake it without our help; and we are glad of it, for it is a work that will much displease the poor seamen, and so we are glad to have no hand in it. So home to supper and then to bed, having eat no dinner to-day. It is strange what weather we have had all this winter; no cold at all; but the ways are dusty, and the flyes fly up and down, and the rose-bushes are full of leaves, such a time of the year as was never known in this world before here. This day many more of the Fifth Monarchy men were hanged.

22nd. To the Comptroller's house, where I read over his proposals to the Lord Admiral for the regulating of the officers of the Navy, in which he hath taken much pains, only he do seem to have too good opinion of them himself. From thence in his coach to Mercer's Chappell, and so up to the great hall, where we met with the King's Councell for trade, upon some proposals of theirs for settling convoys for the whole English trade, and that by having 33 ships (four fourth-rates, nineteen fifths, ten sixths) settled by the King for that purpose, which indeed was argued very finely by many persons of honour and merchants that were there. It pleased me much now to come in this condition to this place, where I was once a petitioner for my exhibition in Paul's

School ; and also where Sir G. Downing (my late master) was chaireman, and so but equally concerned with me. I met with Dr. Thos. Fuller. He tells me of his last and great book that is coming out : that is, his History of all the Families in England ; and could tell me more of my owne, than I knew myself. And also to what perfection he hath now brought the art of memory ; that he did lately to four eminently great scholars dictate together in Latin, upon different subjects of their proposing, faster than they were able to write, till they were tired ; and that the best way of beginning a sentence, if a man should be out and forget his last sentence (which he never was), that then his last refuge is to begin with an *Utcunque*.¹

23rd. To the office all the morning. My wife and people at home busy to get things ready for to-morrow's dinner. At noon, without dinner, went into the City, and there meeting with Greatorex, we went and drank a pot of ale. With him to Gresham Colledge (where I never was before), and saw the manner of the house, and found great company of persons of honour there ; thence to my bookseller's, and for books, and to Stevens, the silversmith, to make clean some plate against to-morrow, and so home, by the way paying many little debts for wine and pictures, &c., which is my great pleasure. Home and found all things in a hurry of business, Slater, our messenger, being here as my cook till very late. I in my chamber all the evening looking over my Osborn's works and new Emanuel Thesaurus' Patriarchæ. So late to bed, having ate nothing to-day but a piece of bread and cheese at the ale-

¹ Many years ago, but within my recollection, it was said that a former Public Orator of Cambridge, when in a similar difficulty, used to begin his sentence with "*Verum enimvero*." (M. B.)

house with Greatorrex, and some bread and butter at home.

24th. At home all day. There dined with me Sir William Batten and his lady and daughter, Sir W. Pen, Mr. Fox (his lady being ill could not come), and Captain Cuttance; the first dinner I have made since I came hither. This cost me above 5*l.*, and merry we were—only my chimney smokes. To bed, being glad that the trouble is over.

25th. Mr. Hater with me to look upon the instructions of my Lord Northumberland's, but we were interrupted by Mr. Salisbury's coming in, who came to see me and to show me my Lord's picture in little, of his doing. And truly it is strange to what a perfection he is come in a year's time. This night comes two cages, which I bought this evening for my canary birds, which Captain Rooth this day sent me.

26th. Within all the morning. About noon comes one that had formerly known me and I him, but I know not his name, to borrow 5*l.* of me, but I had the wit to deny him. There dined with me this day both the Pierces and their wives, and Captain Cuttance, and Lieutenant Lambert, with whom we made ourselves very merry by taking away his ribbans¹ and garters, having made him to confess that he is lately married.

27th (Lord's day). Before I rose, letters come to me from Portsmouth, telling me that the Princesse is now well, and my Lord Sandwich set sail with the Queene and her yesterday from thence for France. To church, a poor dull sermon of a stranger. Home, and at dinner was very angry at my people's eating a fine pudding (made me by Slater, the cooke, last Thursday) without my wife's leave. To church

¹ See 24th January, 1659-60, and 9th February, 1662-63.

again, a good sermon of Mr. Mills, and after sermon Sir W. Pen and I an hour in the garden talking. Mr. and Mrs. Turner supped with us, and after supper we fell to oysters, and then Mr. Turner went and fetched some strong waters, and so being very merry we parted. This day the parson read a proclamation at church, for the keeping of Wednesday next, the 30th of January, a fast for the murther of the late King.

28th. Dined at home, and after dinner to Fleet Streete, with my sword to Mr. Brigden (lately made Captain of the Auxiliaries) to be refreshed, and with him to an ale-house, where I met Mr. Davenport, and after some talk of Cromwell, Ireton and Bradshaw's bodies being taken out of their graves to-day, I went to Mr. Crew's and thence to the Theatre, where I saw again "The Lost Lady," which do now please me better than before; and here I sitting behind in a dark place, a lady spit backward upon me by a mistake, not seeing me, but after seeing her to be a very pretty lady, I was not troubled at it at all. To my father's, whither came to us Dr. Fairbrother, who I took and my father to the Bear and gave a pint of sack and a pint of claret. He do still continue his expressions of respect and love to me, and tells me my brother John will make a good scholar. At Mr. Holden's I bought a hat, cost me 35s.¹

29th. To Southwarke, and so over the fields to Lambeth, and there drank, it being a most glorious

¹ Stubbes, speaking of the hats worn by the gentlemen of 1580, says, "As the fashions be rare and strange, so is the stuff whereof their hat be made diverse also; for some are of silk, some of velvet, some of taffetee, some of sarcenet, some of wool, and which is more curious, some of a certain kind of fine hair, these they call *beaver* hats, of xx, xxx or xl shillings price fetched beyond the sea." —BUCKLE, *Common-place Book*, vol. ii. p. 233. (M. B.)

and warm day, even to amazement, for this time of the year. To my Lord's, where we found my Lady gone with some company to see Hampton Court, so we went to Blackfryers (the first time I ever was there since plays begun), and there after great patience and little expectation, from so poor beginning, I saw three acts of "The Mayd in y^e Mill" acted to my great content. But it being late, I left the play, and by water through bridge home, and so to Mr. Turner's house, where the Comptroller, Sir William Batten, and Mr. Davis and their ladies; and here we had a most neat little but costly and genteel supper, and after that a great deal of impertinent mirth by Mr. Davis, and some catches, and so broke up, and going away, Mr. Davis's eldest son took up my old Lady Slingsby in his armes, and carried her to the coach, and is said to be able to carry three of the biggest men that were in the company, which I wonder at. So home and to bed.

30th (Fast day). The first time that this day hath been yet observed: and Mr. Mills made a most excellent sermon, upon "Lord forgive us our former iniquities;" speaking excellently of the justice of God in punishing men for the sins of their ancestors. So I went home, and there understand that my mother is come home well from Brampton, and had a letter from my brother John, a very ingenious one, and he therein begs to have leave to come to town at the Coronacion. Then to my Lady Batten's,¹ where my wife and she are lately come back again from being abroad, and seeing of Cromwell, Ireton,² and Bradshaw hanged and buried at Tyburne.

¹ Elizabeth Woodcock, married Feb. 3, 1658-9, to Sir W. Batten; and subsequently became, in 1671, the wife of a foreigner called in the Register of Battersea parish, Lord Leyenburg. Lady Leighenberg was buried at Walthamstow, Sept. 16, 1681.—*Lysons' Environs*.

² Henry Ireton married Bridget, daughter to Oliver Cromwell,

31st. This morning with Mr. Coventry at Whitehall about getting a ship to carry my Lord's deales to Lynne, and we have chosen the Gift. To my Lord's, where my Lady not well, so I eat a mouthfull of dinner there, and thence to the Theatre, and there sat in the pitt among the company of fine ladys, &c.; and the house was exceeding full, to see *Argalus and Parthenia*,¹ the first time that it hath been acted: and indeed it is good, though wronged by my over great expectations, as all things else are.

February 1st. A full office all this morning, and busy about answering the Commissioners of Parliament to their letter, wherein they desire to borrow two clerks of ours, which we will not grant them. After dinner into London and bought some books and a belt, and had my sword new furbished. At night home. So after a little musique to bed, leaving my people up getting things ready against tomorrow's dinner.

2nd. Early to Mr. Moore. Thence home, where all things in a hurry for dinner, a strange cooke being come in the room of Slater, who could not come. There dined here my uncle Wight and my aunt, my father and mother, and my brother Tom, Dr. Fairbrother and Mr. Mills, the parson, and his wife, who is a neighbour's daughter of my uncle Robert's, and knows my Aunt Wight and all her and my friends there; and so we had excellent company to-day. After dinner I was sent for to Sir G. Carteret's. Then home; where I found the parson and his wife gone. And by and by the rest of the company, very well pleased, and I too; it being the last dinner I

and was afterwards one of Charles the First's Judges, and of the Committee who superintended his execution. He died at the siege of Limerick, 1651.

¹ "*Argalus and Parthenia*," a pastoral, by Henry Glapthorn, taken from Sydney's "*Arcadia*."

intend to make a great while, it having now cost me almost 15*l.* in three dinners within this fortnight. In the evening comes Sir W. Pen, pretty merry, to sit with me and talk, which we did for an hour or two, and so good night, and I to bed.

3d (Lord's day). This day I first begun to go forth in my coate and sword, as the manner now among gentlemen is. To Whitehall. In my way heard Mr. Thomas Fuller preach at the Savoy upon our forgiving of other men's trespasses, shewing among other things that we are to go to law never to revenge, but only to repayre, which I think a good distinction. So to White Hall; where I staid to hear the trumpets and kettle-drums, and then the other drums, which are much cried up, though I think it dull, vulgar musique. So to Mr. Fox's, unbidd; where I had a good dinner and special company. Among other discourse, I observed one story, how my Lord of Northwich,¹ at a public audience before the King of France, made the Duke of Anjou cry, by making ugly faces as he was stepping to the King, but undiscovered. And how Sir Phillip Warwick's² lady did wonder to have Mr. Darcy send for several dozen bottles of Rhenish wine to her house, not knowing that the wine was his. Thence to my Lord's; where I am told how Sir Thomas Crew's³ Pedro, with two of his countrymen more, did last night kill one soldier of four that quarrelled with

¹ George Lord Goring, created Earl of Norwich 1644; died 1662.

² Sir Philip Warwick, Secretary to Charles I. when in the Isle of Wight, and Clerk of the Signet, to which place he was restored in 1660; knighted, and elected M.P. for Westminster. He was also Secretary to the Treasury under Lord Southampton till 1667. Ob. 1682-3. His second wife here mentioned was Joan, daughter to Sir Henry Fanshawe, and widow of Sir William Botteler, Bart.

³ Eldest son of Mr., afterwards Lord Crewe, whom he succeeded in that title.

them in the street, about 10 o'clock. The other two are taken; but he is now hid at my Lord's till night, that he do intend to make his escape away.

4th. Early up to Court with Sir W. Pen, where, at Mr. Coventry's chamber, we met with all our fellow officers, and there a hot debate about the business of paying off the Fleete, and how far we should join with the Commissioners of Parliament therein. So I to the taverne, where Sir William Pen and the Comptroller and several others were, men and women; and we had a very great and merry dinner; and after dinner the Comptroller begun some sports, among others the naming of people round and afterwards demanding questions of them that they are forced to answer their names to, which do make very good sport. And here I took pleasure to take the forfeits of the ladies who would not do their duty by kissing of them; among others a pretty lady, who I found afterwards to be wife to Sir W. Batten's son. We sat late, talking with my Lady and others and Dr. Whistler, who I found good company and a very ingenious man. So home and to bed.

5th. Washing-day. My wife and I by water to Westminster. She to her mother's and I to Westminster Hall, where I found a full terme, and there saw my Lord Treasurer¹ (who was sworn to-day at the Exchequer, with a great company of Lords and persons of honour to attend him) go up to the Treasury Offices, and take possession thereof; and also saw the heads of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, set up upon the further end of the Hall. I went by coach to the play-house at the Theatre, our coach in King Street breaking, and so took another. Here we saw Argalus and Parthenia, which I lately saw, but though pleasant for the dancing and singing, I do not find good for any wit or design therein.

¹ Earl of Southampton.

6th. To the office, and there sat long, then to dinner, Captain Murford with me. I had a dish of fish and a good Hare, which was sent me the other day by Goodenough the plasterer. So to the office again, where comes Mr. Jessop, one whom I could not formerly have looked upon, and now he comes cap in hand to us from the Commissioners of the Navy, though indeed he is a man of a great estate and of good report.

7th. To Westminster Hall. And after a walk to my Lord's; where, while I and my Lady were in her chamber in talk, in comes my Lord from sea, to our great wonder. He had dined at Havre de Grace on Monday last, and came to the Downes the next day, and lay at Canterbury that night; and so to Dartford, and thence this morning to White Hall. Among others, Mr. Creed and Captain Ferrers tell me the stories of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's and my Lord's falling out at Havre de Grace, at cards; they two and my Lord St. Alban's playing. The Duke did, to my Lord's dishonour, often say that he did in his conscience know the contrary to what he then said, about the difference at cards; and so did take up the money that he should have lost to my Lord. Which my Lord resenting, said nothing then, but that he doubted not but there were ways enough to get his money of him. So they parted that night; and my Lord sent Sir R. Stayner the next morning to the Duke, to know whether he did remember what he said last night, and whether he would owne it with his sword and a second; which he said he would, and so both sides agreed. But my Lord St. Alban's, and the Queene and Ambassador Montagu, did way-lay them at their lodgings till the difference was made up, to my Lord's honour; who hath got great reputation thereby.

8th. Captain Cuttle, and Curtis, and Mootham, and

I, went to the Fleece Taverne to drink ; and there we spent till four o'clock, telling stories of Algiers, and the manner of the life of slaves there. And truly Captn. Mootham and Mr. Dawes (who have been both slaves there) did make me fully acquainted with their condition there : as, how they eat nothing but bread and water. At their redemption they pay so much for the water they drink at the public fountaynes, during their being slaves. How they are beat upon the soles of their feet and bellies at the liberty of their padron. How they are all, at night, called into their master's Bagnard ; and there they lie. How the poorest men do use their slaves best. How some rogues do live well, if they do invent to bring their masters in so much a week by their industry or theft ; and then they are put to no other work at all. And theft there is counted no great crime at all.

9th. To my Lord's with Mr. Creed, who was come to me this morning to get a bill of imprest¹ signed, and then to an ordinary to dinner, and then Creed and I to Whitefriars to the Play-house, and saw "The Mad Lover," the first time I ever saw it acted, which I like pretty well.

10th (Lord's day). Took physique all day, and, God forgive me, did spend it in reading of some little French romances. At night my wife and I did please ourselves talking of our going into France, which I hope to effect this summer.

11th. At the office all the morning. Then with young Mr. Reeve home to his house, who did there show me many pretty pleasures in perspectives,² that I have not seen before, and I did buy a little glass

¹ See page 223. (M. B)

² " 'Telescope' and 'microscope' are both as old as Milton, but for a long while 'perspective' (glass being sometimes understood and sometimes expressed) did the work of these. It is

of him cost me 5s. So home to my study, and set some papers and money in order, and so to bed.

12th. By water to Salisbury Court play-house, where not liking to sit, we went out again, and by coach to the Theatre, and there saw "The Scornfull Lady,"¹ now done by a woman, which makes the play appear much better than ever it did to me.

13th. To Sir W. Batten's, whither I sent for my wife, and we chose Valentines² against to-morrow. My wife chose me, which did much please me; my Lady Batten Sir W. Pen, &c. Here we sat late, and so home to bed, having got my Lady Batten to give me a spoonful of honey for my cold.

14th (Valentine's day). Up early and to Sir W. Batten's, but would not go in till I asked whether they that opened the doore was a man or a woman, and Mingo, who was there, answered a woman, which, with his tone, made me laugh; so up I went and took Mrs. Martha³ for my Valentine (which I do only for complacency), and Sir W. Batten he go in the same manner to my wife, and so we were very merry. About 10 o'clock we, with a great deal of company, went down by our barge to Deptford, and there only went to see how forward Mr. Pett's yacht is; and so all into the barge again, and so to Wool-

sometimes written 'prospective.' Our present use of 'perspective,' does not, I suppose, date farther back than Dryden."—TRENCH'S *Select Glossary*. (M. B.)

¹ A Comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

² The observation of St. Valentine's day is very ancient in this country. Shakespeare makes Ophelia sing—

"To-morrow is Saint Valentine's day,
All in the morning betime,
And I a maid at your window

To be your Valentine." *Hamlet*, act iv. sc. 5.

See Nares' "Glossary," and Ben Jonson, "A Tale of a Tub," act i. sc. 1. (M. B.)

³ Mrs. Martha Batten, Sir W. Batten's daughter. See February 18th. (M. B.)

wich, on board the Rose-bush, Captain Brown's ship, that is brother-in-law to Sir W. Batten, where we had a very fine dinner, dressed on shore, and great mirth and all things successfull; the first time I ever carried my wife a-ship-board, as also my boy Wayneman, who hath all this day been called young Pepys, as Sir W. Pen's boy young Pen. So home by barge again. The talke of the towne now is, who the King is like to have for his Queene: and whether Lent shall be kept with the strictnesse of the King's proclamation; which it is thought cannot be, because of the poor, who cannot buy fish. And also the great preparation for the King's crowning is now much thought upon and talked of.

15th. At the office all the morning, and in the afternoon at making up my accounts for my Lord to-morrow; and that being done I found myself to be clear (as I think) 350*l.* in the world, besides my goods in my house and all things paid for.

16th. To my Lord in the morning, who looked over my accounts and agreed to them. I did also get him to sign a bill (which do make my heart merry) for 60*l.* to me, in consideration of my work extraordinary at sea this last voyage, which I hope to get paid. I dined with my Lord and then to the Theatre, where I saw "The Virgin Martyr," a good but too sober a play for the company.

17th (Lord's day). A most tedious, unreasonable, and impertinent sermon, by an Irish Doctor. His text was "Scatter them, O Lord, that delight in warr." Sir Wm. Batten and I very much angry with the parson.

18th. At the office all the morning, dined at home. In the afternoon my wife and I and Mrs. Martha Batten, my Valentine, to the Exchange, and there upon a payre of embroydered and six payre of plain white gloves I laid out 40*s.* upon her. Then we

went to a mercer's at the end of Lombard Streete and there she bought a suit of Lutestring for herself, and so home. It is much talked that the King is already married to the niece of the Prince de Ligne, and that he hath two sons already by her : which I am sorry to hear ; but yet am gladder that it should be so, than that the Duke of York and his family should come to the crowne, he being a professed friend to the Catholiques.

19th. Met with Sir G. Carteret : who afterwards, with the Duke of York, my Lord Sandwich, and others, went into a private room to consult : and we were a little troubled that we were not called in with the rest. But I do believe it was upon something very private. We staid walking in the gallery ; where we met with Mr. Slingsby, who showed me the stamps of the King's new coyne ; which is strange to see, how good they are in the stamp and bad in the money, for lack of skill to make them. But he says Blondeau¹ will shortly come over, and then we shall have it better, and the best in the world. He tells me, he is sure that the King is not yet married, as it is said ; nor that it is known who he will have. To my Lord's and found him dined, and so I lost my dinner, but I staid and played with him and Mr. Childe, &c. some things of four parts, and so it raining hard and bitter cold (the first winter day we have yet had this winter), I took coach home and spent the evening in reading of a Latin play, the "*Naufragium Jocularé*."

21st. To Westminster by coach with Sir W. Pen, and in our way saw the city begin to build scaffolds against the Coronacion.

22nd. After dinner came The. Turner, and so I home with her to her mother, good woman, whom I had not seen through my great neglect this half

¹ See 27th November, 1662. (M. B.)

year, but she would not be angry with me. Here I staid all the afternoon talking of the King's being married, which is now the towne talke, but I believe false. Then my wife to Sir W. Batten's, and there sat a while; he having yesterday sent my wife half-a-dozen pair of gloves, and a pair of silk stockings and garters, for her Valentine's gift.

23rd. This my birthday, 28 years. I by water to Whitehall, having met Mr. Hartlibb by the way at Alderman Backwell's. So he did give me a glass of Rhenish wine at the Steeleyard, and so to Whitehall by water. He continues of the same bold impertinent humour that he was always of and will ever be. He told me how my Lord Chancellor had lately got the Duke of York and Duchesse, and her woman, my Lord Ossory,¹ and a Doctor, to make oath before most of the Judges of the kingdom, concerning all the circumstances of their marriage. And in fine, it is confessed that they were not fully married till about a month or two before she was brought to bed; but that they were contracted long before, and time enough for the child to be legitimate. But I do not hear that it was put to the Judges to determine whether it was so or no. To my Lord and there spoke to him about his opinion of the Light, the sea-marke that Captain Murford is about, and do offer me an eighth part to concern myself with it, and my Lord do give me some encouragement in it, and I shall go on. After dinner to Whitehall Chappell with Mr. Childe, and there did hear Captain Cooke and his boy make a trial of an Anthem against to-morrow, which was brave musique. Then to the Play-house, and there saw "The Changeling,"² the first time it

¹ Thomas Earl of Ossory, son of the Duke of Ormond. Ob. 1680, aged 46.

² "The Changeling," a Tragedy, by Thomas Middleton. The plot is taken from a story in "God's Revenge against Murder."

hath been acted these twenty years, and it takes exceedingly. Besides, I see the gallants do begin to be tyred with the vanity and pride of the theatre actors, who are indeed grown very proud and rich. I also met with the Comptroller, who told me how it was easy for us all, the principall officers, and proper for us, to labour to get into the next Parliament; and would have me to ask the Duke's letter, but I shall not endeavour it because it will spend much money, though I am sure I could well obtain it. This is now 28 years that I am born. And blessed be God, in a state of full content, and great hopes to be a happy man in all respects, both to myself and friends.

24th (Sunday). Mr. Mills made as excellent a sermon in the morning against drunkenness as ever I heard in my life. I dined at home; another good one of his in the afternoon. My Valentine had her fine gloves on at church to-day that I did give her.

25th. To W. Symon's where I found him abroad, but she, like a good lady, within, and there we did eat some nettle porridge, which was made on purpose to-day for some of their coming, and was very good.

26th (Shrove Tuesday). I to Mrs. Turner's, who I found busy with The. and Joyce making of things ready for fritters, so to Mr. Crew's and there delivered Cotgrave's Dictionary to my Lady Jemimah. To Mrs. Turner's, where several friends, all strangers to me but Mr. Armiger, dined. Very merry and the best fritters that ever I eat in my life. After that looked out at window; saw the flinging at cocks. Then Mrs. The. and I, and Mr. Thatcher the Virginall Maister to Bishopsgate Streete, and there saw the new Harpsicon made for Mrs. The. We offered 12*l.*, they demanded 14*l.* The Maister

not being at home, we could make no bargain. So all by coach to my house, where I found my Valentine with my wife. I sat and talked with my Valentine and my wife a good while, and then saw her home.

27th. At the office all the morning, that done I walked in the garden with little Captain Murford, where he and I had some discourse concerning the Light-House again, and I think I shall appear in the business, he promising me that if I can bring it about, it will be worth 100*l.* per annum. I called for a dish of fish, which we had for dinner, this being the first day of Lent; and I do intend to try whether I can keep it or no. My father dined with me and did show me a letter from my brother John, wherein he tells us that he is chosen Schollar of the house,¹ which do please me much, because I do perceive now it must chiefly come from his merit and not the power of his Tutor, Dr. Widdrington, who is now quite out of interest there and hath put over his pupils to Mr. Pepper, a young Fellow of the College. This day the Commissioners of Parliament begin to pay off the Fleet, beginning with the Hampshire, and do it at Guildhall, for fear of going out of towne into the power of the seamen, who are highly incensed against them.

28th. Early to wait on my Lord, and after a little talk with him I took boat at Whitehall for Redriffe, but in my way overtook Captain Cuttance and Teddiman in a boat and so ashore with them at Queenhithe, and so to a taverne with them to a barrel of oysters, and so away. Notwithstanding my resolution, yet for want of other victualls, I did eat flesh this Lent, but am resolved to eat as little as I can. To Deptford, where I found both Sir Williams and

¹ Christ's College. (M. B.)

Sir G. Carteret, and dined, and after dinner we went to Captain Bodilaw's, and there made sale of many old stores by the candle, and good sport it was to see how from a small matter bid at first they would come to double and treble the price of things. Home and to bed. This month ends with two great secrets under dispute but yet known to very few: first, Who the King will marry; and What the meaning of this fleet is which we are now sheathing to set out for the southward. Most think against Algier against the Turke, or to the East Indys against the Dutch who, we hear, are setting out a great fleet thither.

March 1st. After dinner Mr. Shepley and I in private talking about my Lord's intentions to go speedily into the country, but to what end we know not. We fear he is to go to sea with this fleet now preparing. But we wish that he could get his 4000*l.* per annum settled before he do go. To White-fryars, and saw "The Bondman"¹ acted; an excellent play and well done. But above all that ever I saw, Betterton do the Bondman the best. Sat up late, spending my thoughts how to get money to bear me out in my great expense at the Coronacion, against which all provide, and scaffolds setting up in every street. I had many designs in my head to get some, but know not which will take.

2d. After dinner I went to the theatre, where I found so few people (which is strange, and the reason I did not know) that I went out again, and so to Salisbury Court, where the house as full as could be; and it seems it was a new play, "The Queen's Maske,"² wherein there are some good humours: among others, a good jeer to the old story of the Siege of Troy, making it to be a common country tale. But above all it was strange to see so little a

¹ By Massinger.

² "Love's Mistress, or The Queen's Masque," by T. Heywood.

boy as that was to act Cupid, which is one of the greatest parts in it.

3rd (Lord's day). Mr. Woodcocke preached at our church a very good sermon upon the imaginations of the thoughts of man's heart being only evil. In the Abby all the afternoon. So to my Lord's, who come in late and tells us how news is come to-day of Mazarin's¹ being dead, which is very great news and of great consequence. I lay to-night with Mr. Shepley here, because of my Lord's going to-morrow.

4th. My Lord went this morning on his journey to Hinchinbroke, Mr. Parker with him; the chief business being to look over and determine how, and in what manner, his great work of building shall be done. Before his going he did give me some jewells to keep for him, viz., that that the King of Sweden did give him, with the King's own picture in it, most excellently done; and a brave George, all of diamonds, and this with the greatest expressions of love and confidence that I could imagine or hope for, which is a very great joy to me.

5th. I to the office, where Sir Williams both and I set about making an estimate of all the officers' salaries in ordinary in the Navy till 10 o'clock at night. So home, and I with my head full of thoughts how to get a little present money, I eat a bit of bread and cheese, and so to bed.

6th. At the office all the morning. At dinner Sir W. Batten came and took me and my wife to his house to dinner, my Lady being in the country, where we had a good Lenten dinner. After that

¹ *Cardinal Mazarin*, after the death of Richelieu Prime Minister of Louis XIII., and continued in that office during the minority of Louis XIV. and the regency of Anne of Austria. He was afterwards obliged to leave the kingdom, but was restored to power, and died 27th February, 1660-61, aged 59. (M. B.)

home, thinking to have had Sir W. Batten, &c., to have eat a wigg¹ at my house at night. But my Lady being come home out of the country ill by reason of much rain that has fallen lately, and the waters being very high, we could not, and so I home and to bed.

7th. Met Spicer and a company more of my old acquaintance, and went into a place to drink some ale, and there we staid playing the fool till late, and so I home. At home met with ill news that my hopes of getting some money for the Charles were spoiled through Mr. Waith's perverseness, which did so vex me that I could not sleep at night. But I wrote a letter to him for him to take my money for me, and so with good words I thought to coy with him. To bed.

8th. All the morning at the office. At noon Sir W. Batten, Col. Slingsby and I by coach to the Tower, to Sir John Robinson's, to dinner; where great good cheer. High company; among others the Duchesse of Albemarle,² who is ever a plain homely dowdy. After dinner, to drink all the afternoon. Towards night the Duchesse and ladies went away. Then we set to it again till it was very late. And at last came in Sir William Wale, almost fuddled; and because I was set between him and another, only to keep them from talking and spoiling the company (as we did to others), he fell out with the Lieutenant of the Tower; but with much ado we made him understand his error, and then all quiet. I was much contented to ride in such state into the Tower, and be received among such high company, while Mr.

¹ *Wigg*, a kind of north country bun or tea-cake, still so called, to my knowledge, in Staffordshire. (M. B.)

² Anne Clarges, daughter of a blacksmith, and bred a milliner; mistress and afterwards wife of General Monk, over whom she possessed the greatest influence.

Mount, my Lady Duchess's gentleman usher, stood waiting at table, whom I ever thought a man so much above me in all respects ; also to hear the discourse of so many high Cavaliers of things past. It was a great content and joy to me.

9th. To my Lord's, where we found him lately come from Hinchinbroke. I staid and dined with him. He took me aside, and asked me what the world spoke of the King's marriage. Which I answering as one that knew nothing, he enquired no further of me. But I do perceive by it that there is something in it that is ready to come out that the world knows not of yet.

10th (Lord's day). Heard Mr. Mills in the morning, a good sermon. Dined at home on a poor Lenten dinner of coleworts and bacon. In the afternoon again to church, and there heard one Castle, whom I knew of my year at Cambridge. He made a dull sermon.

11th. After dinner I went to the theatre, and there saw "Love's Mistress" done by them, which I do not like in some things as well as their acting in Salisbury Court. At night home and found my wife come home, and she hath got her teeth new done by La Roche, and are indeed now pretty handsome, and I was much pleased with it.

12th. To Guildhall, and there set my hand to the book before Colonel King for my sea pay, and blessed be God ! they have cast me at midshipman's pay, which do make my heart very glad. So home, and there had Sir W. Batten and my Lady and all their company to a collacion at my house till it was late, and so to bed.

13th. Early up in the morning to read "The Seaman's Grammar and Dictionary" I lately have got, which do please me exceeding well.

14th. Dined with my Lord and Lady, and so with

Mr. Creed to the Theatre, and there saw "King and no King" well acted. Thence with him to the Cock ale house at Temple Bar.

15th. This day my wife and Pall went to see my Lady Kingston, her brother's¹ lady.

16th. To Whitefryers and saw "The Spanish Curate," in which I had no great content. So home, and was very much troubled that Will. staid out late, and went to bed early, intending not to let him come in, but by and by he comes and I did let him in, and he did tell me that he was at Guildhall helping to pay off the seamen, and cast the books late. Which since I found to be true.

17th (Lord's day). At church in the morning, a stranger preached a good honest and painfull² sermon. My wife and I dined upon a chine of beef at Sir W. Batten's, so to church again. Then to supper at Sir W. Batten's again, where my wife by chance fell down and hurt her knees exceedingly.

18th. This morning early Sir W. Batten went to Rochester, where he expects to be chosen Parliament man. This day an ambassador from Florence was brought into the towne in state. Yesterday was said to be the day that the Princesse Henrietta was to marry the Duke d'Anjou in France. This day I found in the newes-booke that Roger Pepys is chosen

¹ Balthazar St. Michel is the only brother of Mrs. Pepys mentioned in the Diary.

² "Painful" is now feeling pain or inflicting it; it was once taking pains. Many things would not be so "painful," in the present sense of the word, if they had been more "painful" in the earlier, as perhaps some sermons.

"Within fourteen generations, the royal blood of the kings of Judah ran in the veins of plain Joseph, a *painful* carpenter."—FULLER, *The Holy War*, book v. chap. 29.

"O the holiness of their living, and *painfulness* of their preaching."—Id., *The Holy State*, book ii. chap. 6. TRENCH'S *Select Glossary*. (M. B.)

at Cambridge for the towne, the first place that we hear of to have made their choice yet.

19th. We met at the office this morning about some particular business, and then Mr. Creed and I to White-Fryars, where we saw "The Bondman" acted most excellently, and though I have seen it often, yet I am every time more and more pleased with Betterton's action.

20th. To White Hall to Mr. Coventry, where I did some business with him, and so with Sir W. Pen (who I found with Mr. Coventry teaching of him the map to understand Jamaica). The great talk of the towne is the strange election that the City of London made yesterday for Parliament-men; viz. Fowke, Love, Jones, and¹ men that are so far from being episcopall that they are thought to be Anabaptists; and chosen with a great deal of zeale, in spite of the other party that thought themselves very strong, calling out in the Hall, "No Bishops! no Lord Bishops!" It do make people to fear it may come to worse, by being an example to the country to do the same. And indeed the Bishops are so high, that very few do love them.

21st. Up very early, and to work and study in my chamber, and then to Whitehall, and at noon dined with my Lord, who was very merry, and after dinner we sang and fiddled a great while. This day I saw the Florence Ambassador go to his audience, the weather very foule, and yet he and his company very gallant.

22nd. About eight I got a horse-back, and my Lady and her two daughters, and Sir W. Pen into coach, and so over London Bridge, and thence to Dartford. The day very pleasant, though the way bad. Here we met with Sir W. Batten, and some

¹ Sir W. Thompson was the fourth member.

company along with him, who had assisted him in his election at Rochester; and so we dined and were very merry. At 5 o'clock we set out again in a coach home, and were very merry all the way. At Deptford we met with Mr. Newborne, and some other friends and their wives in a coach to meet us, and so they went home with us, and at Sir W. Batten's we supped, and thence to bed, my head akeing¹ mightily through the wine that I drank to-day.

23d. To the Red Bull (where I had not been since plays come up again) up to the tireing-room, where strange the confusion and disorder that there is among them in fitting themselves, especially here, where the clothes are very poore, and the actors but common fellows. At last into the pitt, where I think there was not above ten more than myself, and not one hundred in the whole house. And the play, which is called "All's lost by Lust,"² poorly done; and with so much disorder, among others, that in the musique-room the boy that was to sing a song, not singing it right, his master fell about his eares and beat him so, that it put the whole house in an uprore. Thence homewards, and at the Mitre met my uncle Wight, and with him Lieut.-Col. Baron, who told us how Crofton, the great Presbyterian minister that had lately preached so highly against Bishops, is clapped up this day into the Tower. Which do please some, and displease others exceedingly.

24th (Lord's day). My wife and I to church, and then home with Sir W. Batten and my Lady to dinner, where very merry, and then to church again, where Mr. Mills made a good sermon.

25th (Lady day). This morning came workmen to begin the making of me a new pair of stairs up out

¹ So Pepys invariably writes the word in full, it is hardly ever written in cipher. (M. B.)

² A Tragedy, by W. Rowley.

of my parler, which, with other work that I have to do, I doubt will keep me this two months and so long I shall be all in dirt; but the work do please me very well. After dinner comes Mr. Salisbury to see me, and shewed me a face or two of his paynting, and indeed I perceive that he will be a great master. I took him to Whitehall with me by water, but he would not by any means be moved to go through bridge, and so we were fain to go round by the Old Swan. To my Lord's and there I shewed him the King's picture, which he intends to copy out in little. After that I and Captain Ferrers to Salisbury Court by water, and saw part of the "*Queene's Maske*." Then I to Mrs. Turner, The: Turner being in a great chafe, about being disappointed of a room to stand in at the Coronacion. So homewards and took up a boy that had a lanthorne, that was picking up of rags, and got him to light me home, and had great discourse with him how he could get sometimes three or four bushells of rags in a day, and got 3*d*. a bushell for them, and many other discourses, what and how many ways there are for poor children to get their livings honestly.

26th. Up early to do business in my study. This is my great day that three years ago I was cut of the stone, and, blessed be God, I do yet find myself very free from pain again. To my father's, where Mrs. Turner, The., Joyce, Mr. Morrice, Mr. Armiger, Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and his wife, my father and mother, and myself and my wife. Very merry at dinner; among other things, because Mrs. Turner and her company eat no flesh at all this Lent, and I had a great deal of good flesh which made their mouths water. I and my wife to Salisbury Court, and sat in the pitt, and saw "*The Bondman*" done to admiration.

27th. Up early. My brother Tom comes to me,

and I looked over my old clothes and did give him a suit of black stuff clothes and a hat and some shoes. At the office all the morning, where Sir G. Carteret comes, and there I did get him to promise me some money upon a bill of exchange, whereby I shall secure myself of 60*l*. At noon I found my stairs quite broke down, that I could not get up but by a ladder. To the Dolphin to a dinner of Mr. Harris's, where Sir Williams both and my Lady Batten, and her two daughters, and other company, where a great deal of mirth, and there staid till 11 o'clock at night; and in our mirth I sang and sometimes fiddled (there being a noise¹ of fiddlers there), and at last we fell to dancing, the first time that ever I did in my life, which I did wonder to see myself to do. At last we made Mingo, Sir W. Batten's black, and Jack, Sir W. Pen's, dance, and it was strange how the first did dance with a great deal of seeming skill.

28th. I went to Sir Robert Slingsby (he being newly maister of that title by being made a Baronett) to discourse about Mr. Creed's accounts to be made up, and from thence by coach to my cozen Thomas Pepys, to borrow 1000*l*. for my Lord. Then with Mr. Shepley to the Theatre and saw "Rollo" ill acted. That done to drink a cup of ale and so home, where I found a great deal of work done to-

¹ *Noise*, a set or company of musicians, usually of three, named from the chief performer.

Shakespeare: "And see if thou canst find Sneak's *noise*; Mistress Tear-sheet would fain hear some music." 2 *Henry IV.*, act ii. sc. 4.

Ben Jonson: "The king has his *noise* of gypsies, as well as of bearwards and other minstrels." *Masque of Gypsies*, vol. vi. p. 102.

In the sense of a concert. See Psalm xlvii. 5. "God is gone up with a *merry noise*, and the Lord with the sound of the trump."

So *noised*, played or accompanied with music. (M. B.)

day, and also 70*l.* paid me, so that, my heart in great content, I went to bed.

29th. To the office, where I found Sir W. Pen sent down yesterday to Chatham to get two great ships in readiness presently¹ to go to the East Indies upon some design against the Dutch, we think, at Goa, but it is a great secret yet.

30th. At the office we and Sir W. Rider to advise what sort of provisions to get ready for these ships going to the Indies.

31st (Sunday). At church, where a stranger preached like a fool. Dined with my wife, she staying at home, being unwilling to dress herself, the house being all dirty. To church again, and after sermon I walked to my father's, and to Mr. Turner's, where I could not woo The. to give me a lesson upon the harpsicon, and was angry at it. So home and finding Will abroad at Sir W. Batten's talking with the people there (Sir W. and my Lady being in the country), I took occasion to be angry with him, and so to prayers and to bed.

April 1st. This day my waiting at the Privy Seale comes in again. To Whitefryars, and there saw part of "Rule a wife and have a wife," which I never saw before, but do not like it. So to my father, and there finding a discontent between my father and mother about the mayde (which my father likes and my mother dislikes), I staid till 10 at night, persuading my mother to understand herself, and that in some high words, which I was sorry for, but she is grown, poor woman, very froward. So leaving them in the same discontent I went away home, it being a brave moonshine, and to bed.

¹ *Presently*, immediately. Shakespeare—

"Therefore, I pray you, stand not to discourse,
But mount you *presently*."

Two Gentlemen of Verona, act v. sc. 1. (M. B.)

2d. To St. James's Park, where I saw the Duke of York playing at Pelemele,¹ the first time that ever I saw the sport. Then to my Lord's, where I dined with my Lady, and after we had dined in comes my Lord and Ned Pickering hungry, and there was not a bit of meat left in the house, the servants having eat up all, at which my Lord was very angry, and at last got something dressed. Then to the Privy Seale, and so to White-fryars and saw "The Little Thiefe," which is a very merry and pretty play, and the little boy do very well. Then to the Dolphin to Sir W. Batten, and Pen, and other company; among others Mr. Delabar; where strange how these men, who at other times are all wise men, do now, in their drink, betwitt and reproach one another with their former conditions, and their actions as in public concernments, till I was ashamed to see it.

3rd. Up among my workmen, my head akeing all day from last night's debauch. To the office all the morning, and at noon dined with Sir W. Batten and Pen, who would needs have me drink two drafts of sack to-day to cure me of last night's disease, which I thought strange but I think find it true. I hear that the Dutch have sent the King a great present of money, which we think will stop the match with Portugal; and judge this to be the reason that our so great haste in sending the two ships to the East Indys is also stayed.

4th. After dinner I went into my Lord and there we had a great deal of musique, and then came my

¹ "Our Pall Mall is, I believe, derived from Paille Maille, a game somewhat analogous to cricket, and imported from France in the reign of the second Charles; it was formerly played in St. James's Park, and in the exercise of the sport a small hammer or mallet was used to strike the ball. I think it worth noting that the Mallie crest is a mailed arm and hand, the latter grasping a mallet." *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 351. Paille signified the ball, maille the mallet. (M. B.)

cozen Tom Pepys and there did accept of the security which we gave him for his 1000*l.* that we borrow of him, and so the money to be paid next week.

5th. Up among my workmen and so to the office, and then to Sir W. Pen's with the other Sir William and Sir John Lawson to dinner, and after that, with them to Mr. Lucy's, a merchant, where much good company, and there drank a great deal of wine, and in discourse fell to talk of the weight of people, which did occasion some wagers, and where, among others, I won half a piece to be spent. Then home, and at night to Sir W. Batten's, and there very merry with a good barrell of oysters, and this is the present life I lead. Home and to bed.

6th. To Whitehall, and there at Privy Seale and elsewhere did business, and among other things met with Mr. Townsend, who told of his mistake the other day, to put both his legs through one of his knees of his breeches, and went so all day. Then with Mr. Creed and Moore to the Leg in the Palace to dinner which I gave them, and after dinner I saw the girle of the house, being very pretty, go into a chamber, and I went in after her and kissed her. Then by water, Creed and I, to Salisbury Court and there saw "Love's Quarrell" acted the first time, but I do not like the design or words.

7th (Lord's day). All the morning at home, making up my accounts (God forgive me!) to give up to my Lord this afternoon. Then put in at Paul's, where I saw our minister, Mr. Mills, preaching before my Lord Mayor. So to White Hall, and there I met with Dr. Fuller¹ of Twickenham, newly come from Ireland; and took him to my Lord's,

¹ William Fuller, of Magdalene Hall, Oxford, was a schoolmaster at Twickenham during the Rebellion; and at the Restoration became Dean of St. Patrick's; and in 1663, Bishop of Limerick; and in 1667 was translated to Lincoln. Ob. 1675.

where he and I dined ; and he did give my Lord and me a good account of the condition of Ireland, and how it come to pass, through the joyning of the Fanatiques and the Presbyterians, that the latter and the former are in their declaration put together under the names of Fanatiques. After dinner, my Lord and I and Mr. Shepley did look over our accounts and settle matters of money between us ; and my Lord did tell me much of his mind about getting money and other things of his family, &c.

8th. Up early, my Lady Batten knocking at her door that comes into one of my chambers. I did give directions to my people and workmen, and so about 8 o'clock we took barge at the Tower, Sir William Batten and his lady, Mrs. Turner, Mr. Fowler and I. A very pleasant passage and so to Gravesend, where we dined, and from thence a coach took them and me, and Mr. Fowler with some others came from Rochester to meet us, on horseback. At Rochester, where alight at Mr. Alcock's and there drank and had good sport, with his bringing out so many sorts of cheese. Then to the Hill-house at Chatham, where I never was before, and I found a pretty pleasant house and am pleased with the armes that hang up there. Here we supped very merry, and late to bed ; Sir William telling me that old Edgeborrow, his predecessor, did die and walk in my chamber, did make me somewhat afeard, but not so much as for mirth's sake I did seem. So to bed in the treasurer's chamber.

9th. And lay and slept well till 3 in the morning, and then waking, and by the light of the moon I saw my pillow (which overnight I flung from me) stand upright, but not bethinking myself what it might be, I was a little afeard, but sleep overcame all and so lay till high morning, at which time I had a candle brought me and a good fire made, and in general it

was a great pleasure all the time I staid here to see how I am respected and honoured by all people; and I find that I begin to know now how to receive so much reverence, which at the beginning I could not tell how to do. Sir William and I by coach to the docke and there viewed all the storehouses and the old goods that are this day to be sold, which was great pleasure to me, and so back again by coach home, where we had a good dinner, and among other strangers that come, there was Mr. Hempson and his wife, a pretty woman, and speaks Latin; Mr. Allen and two daughters of his, both very tall and the youngest very handsome, so much as I could not forbear to love her exceedingly, having, among other things, the best hand that ever I saw. After dinner, we went to fit books and things (Tom Hater being this morning come to us) for the sale, by an inch of candle, and very good sport we and the ladies that stood by had, to see the people bid. Among other things sold there was all the State's armes, which Sir W. Batten bought; intending to set up some of the images in his garden, and the rest to burn on the Coronacion night. The sale being done, the ladies and I and Captain Pett and Mr. Castle took barge and down we went to see the Sovereigne, which we did, taking great pleasure therein, singing all the way, and, among other pleasures I put my Lady, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Hempson, and the two Mrs. Allens into the lanthorn and I went in and kissed them, demanding it as a fee due to a principall officer, with all which we were exceeding merry, and drunk some bottles of wine and neat's tongue, &c. Then back again home and so supped, and after much mirth to-bed.

10th. In the morning to see the Dockhouses. First, Mr. Pett's, the builder, and there was very kindly received, and among other things he did offer

my Lady Batten a parrot, the best I ever saw, that knew Mingo so soon as it saw him, having been bred formerly in the house with them; but for talking and singing I never heard the like. My Lady did accept of it. Then to see Commissioner Pett's house, he and his family being absent, and here I wondered how my Lady Batten walked up and down with envious looks to see how neat and rich everything is (and indeed both the house and garden is most handsome), saying that she would get it, for it belonged formerly to the Surveyor of the Navy. Then on board the Prince, now in the docke, and indeed it has one and no more rich cabins for carved work, but no gold in her. After that back home, and there eat a little dinner. Then to Rochester, and there saw the Cathedrall, which is now fitting for use, and the organ then a-tuning. Then away thence, observing the great doors of the church, which, they say, was covered with the skins of the Danes, and also had much mirth at a tomb, on which was "Come sweet Jesu," and I read "Come sweet Mall," &c., at which Captain Pett and I had much laughter. So to the Salutacione taverne, where Mr. Alcock and many of the towne came and entertained us with wine and oysters and other things, and hither come Sir John Minnes to us, who is come to-day to see "the Henery," in which he intends to ride as Vice-Admiral in the narrow seas all this summer. Here much mirth, but I was a little troubled to stay too long, because of going to Hempson's, which afterwards we did, and found it in all things a most pretty house, and rarely furnished, only it had a most ill accesse on all sides to it, which is a greatest fault that I think can be in a house. Here we had, for my sake, two fiddles, the one a base viall, on which he that played, played well some lyra lessons, but both together made the worst musique

that ever I heard. We had a fine collacion; but I took little pleasure in that, for the illness of the musique and for the intentnesse of my mind upon Mrs. Rebecca Allen. After we had done eating, the ladies went to dance, and among the men we had, I was forced to dance too; and did make an ugly shift. Mrs. R. Allen danced very well, and seems the best humoured woman that ever I saw. About 9 o'clock Sir William and my Lady went home, and we continued dancing an houre or two, and so broke up very pleasant and merry, and so walked home, I leading Mrs. Rebecca, who seemed, I know not why, in that and other things, to be desirous of my favours and would in all things show me respects. Going home, she would needs have me sing, and I did pretty well and was highly esteemed by them. So to Captain Allen's (where we were last night, and heard him play on the harpsicon, and I find him to be a perfect good musician), and there, having no mind to leave Mrs. Rebecca, what with talk and singing (her father and I), Mrs. Turner and I staid there till 2 o'clock in the morning and was most exceeding merry, and I had the opportunity of kissing Mrs. Rebecca very often.

11th. At 2 o'clock, with very great mirth, we went to our lodging and to bed, and lay till 7, and then called up by Sir W. Batten, so I arose and we did some business, and then came Captn. Allen, and he and I withdrew and sang a song or two, and among others took pleasure in "Goe and bee hanged, that's good-bye." The young ladies come too, and so I did again please myself with Mrs. Rebecca, and about 9 o'clock, after we had breakfasted, we sett forth for London, and indeed I was a little troubled to part with Mrs. Rebecca, for which God forgive me. Thus we went away through Rochester. We baited at Dartford, and thence to London, but of all

the journeys that ever I made this was the merriest, and I was in a strange moode for mirth. Among other things, I got my Lady to let her mayde, Mrs. Anne, to ride all the way on horseback, and she rides exceeding well; and so I called her my clerk, that she went to wait upon me. I met two little schoolboys going with pitchers of ale to their school-master to break up against Easter, and I did drink of some of one of them and give him two pence. By and by we come to two little girles keeping cows, and I saw one of them very pretty, so I had a mind to make her aske my blessing, and telling her that I was her godfather, she asked me innocently whether I was not Ned Wooding, and I said that I was, so she kneeled down and very simply called, "Pray, godfather, pray to God to bless me," which made us very merry, and I gave her twopence. In several places, I asked women whether they would sell me their children, but they denied me all, but said they would give me one to keep for them, if I would. Mrs. Anne and I rode under the man that hangs upon Shooter's Hill, and a filthy sight it was to see how his flesh is shrunk to his bones. So home and I found all well, and a deal of work done since I went. I sent to see how my wife do, who is well. So to Sir W. Batten's and there supped, and very merry with the young ladies. So to bed very sleepy for last night's work, concluding that it is the pleasantest journey in all respects that ever I had in my life.

12th. Up among my workmen. Dined with Sir W. Batten, all fish dinner, it being Good Friday. Then into the City and saw in what forwardness all things are for the Coronacion, which will be very magnificent. Then back again home and to my chamber, to set down in my diary all my late journey, which I do with great pleasure; and while I am now

writing comes one with a tickett to invite me to Captain Robert Blake's buriall, for whose death I am very sorry, and do much wonder at it, he being a little while since a very likely man to live as any I knew. Since my going out of town, there is one Alexander Rosse taken and sent to the Counter by Sir Thomas Allen, for counterfeiting my hand to a ticket, and we this day at the office have given order to Mr. Smith to prosecute him.

13th. To Whitehall by water from Towre-wharfe, where we could not pass the ordinary way, because they were mending of the great stone steps against the Coronacion. Met my Lord with the Duke; and after a little talk with him, I went to the Banquet-house, and there saw the King heale, the first time that ever I saw him do it; which he did with great gravity, and it seemed to me to be an ugly office and a simple one. To the buriall of Captain Robert Blake, at Wapping, and there had each of us a ring, but it being dirty, we would not go to church with them, but with our coach we returned, and then Sir W. Pen and I alone to the Dolphin (Sir W. Batten being this day gone with his wife to Walthamstow to keep Easter), and there had a supper by ourselves, we both being very hungry, and staying there late drinking I became very sleepy, and so we went home and to bed.

14th (Easter. Lord's day). In the morning heard Mr. Jacomb, at Ludgate, upon these words, "Christ loved you and therefore let us love one another," and made a gracy sermon, like a Presbyterian. After dinner I went to the Temple and there heard Dr. Griffith, a good sermon for the day; so with Mr. Moore (whom I met there) to my Lord's, and there he shewed me a copy of my Lord Chancellor's patent for Earle, and I read the preamble, which is very short, modest, and good. Here my

Lord saw us and spoke to me about getting Mr. Moore to come and governe his house while he goes to sea, which I promised him to do and did afterwards speak to Mr. Moore, and he is willing. Then hearing that Mr. Barnwell was come, with some of my Lord's little children, yesterday to town, to see the Coronacion, I went and found them at the Goate, at Charing Cross, and there I went and drank with them a good while, whom I found in very good health and very merry. Then to my father's, and after supper seemed willing to go home, and my wife seeming to be so too I went away in a discontent, but she, poor wretch, followed me as far in the rain and dark as Fleet Bridge to fetch me back again, and so I did.

15th. From my father's, it being a very foule morning for the King and Lords to go to Windsor, I went to the office and there met Mr. Coventry and Sir Robt. Slingsby. Mr. Coventry being gone, and I having at home laid up 200*l*. which I had brought this morning home from Alderman Backwell's, I went home by coach with Sir R. Slingsby and dined with him, and had a very good dinner. His lady seems a good woman and very desirous they were to hear this noon by the post how the election has gone at Newcastle, wherein he is concerned, but the letters are not come yet.

16th. So soon as word was brought me that Mr. Coventry was come with the barge to the Towre, I went to him, and found him reading of the Psalms in short hand (which he is now busy about), and had good sport about the long marks that are made there for sentences in divinity, which he is never like to make use of. Here he and I sat till the Comptroller came and then we put off for Deptford, where we went on board the King's pleasure boat that Commissioner Pett is making, and indeed it will be

a most pretty thing. From thence to Commr. Pett's lodging, and there had a good breakfast, and in came the two Sir Wms. from Walthamstow, and so we sat down and did a great deal of public business about the fitting of the fleet that is now going out. That done we went to the Globe and there had a good dinner, and by and by took barge again and so home. By the way they would have me sing, which I did to Mr. Coventry.

17th. By land and saw the arches, which are now almost done and are very fine, and I saw the picture of the ships and other things this morning, set up before the East Indy House, which are well done. Then comes Mr. Allen of Chatham, and I took him to the Mitre and there did drink with him, and did get of him the song that pleased me so well there the other day, "Of Shitten come Shites the beginning of love." His daughters are to come to towne to-morrow, but I know not whether I shall see them or no. That done I went to the Dolphin by appointment and there I met Sir. Wms. both and Mr. Castle, and did eat a barrel of oysters and two lobsters, which I did give them, and were very merry. Here we had much talk of Mr. Warren's being knighted¹ by the King, and Sir W. B. seemed to be very much incensed against him.

18th. Up with my workmen and then about 9 o'clock took horse with both the Sir Williams for Walthamstow, and there we found my Lady and her daughters all; and a pleasant day it was, and all things else, but that my Lady was in a bad moode, which we were troubled at, and had she been noble she would not have been so with her servants, when we came thither, and this Sir W. Pen took notice of, as well as I. After dinner we all went to the

¹ Knighted the following year. (M. B.)

Church stile,¹ and there eat and drank, and I was as merry as I could counterfeit myself to be. Then, it raining hard, homewards again and in our way met with two country fellows upon one horse, which I did, without much ado, give the way to, but Sir W. Pen would not, but struck them and they him, and so passed away, but they, giving him some high words, he went back again and struck them off their horse, in a simple fury, and without much honour, in my mind, and so came away.

19th. Among my workmen and then to the office, it being so foule that I could not go to Whitehall to see the Knights of the Bath made to-day, which do trouble me mightily.

20th. Comes my boy to tell me that the Duke of York had sent for all the principall officers, &c., to come to him to-day. So I went by water to Mr. Coventry's, and there staid and talked a good while with him till all the rest come. We went up and saw the Duke dress himself, and in his night habitt he is a very plain man. Then he sent us to his closett, where we saw among other things two very fine chests, covered with gold and Indian varnish, given him by the East Indy Company of Holland. The Duke comes; and after he had told us that the fleet was designed for Algier (which was kept from us till now), we did advise about many things as to the fitting of the fleet, and so went away. After that to my Lord's, where Sir W. Pen came to me, and dined with my Lord. After dinner he and others that dined there went away, and then my Lord looked upon his pages' and footmen's liverys,

¹ So it is *written*, not in cipher. See "Notes and Queries," 1st Series, vol. vi. p. 339. Minute passed at a Warrington vestry meeting:—"That hereafter no money be spent on y^e 5th of Nov^r., nor on any other state day, on the parish account, either at y^e *churstile*, or at any other place." (M. B.)

which are come home to-day, and will be handsome, though not gaudy. Then with my Lady and my Lady Wright to White Hall; and in the Banqueting-house saw the King create my Lord Chancellor and several others, Earles, and Mr. Crew and several others, Barons : the first being led up by Heralds and five old Earles to the King, and there the patent is read, and the King puts on his vest, and sword, and coronett, and gives him the patent. And then he kisseth the King's hand, and rises and stands covered before the king. And the same for the Barons, only he is led up but by three of the old Barons, and are girt with swords before they go to the King. That being done (which was very pleasant to see their habitts), I carried my Lady back, and I found my Lord angry, for that his page had let my Lord's new beaver be changed for an old hat; then I went away, and with Mr. Creed to the Exchange and bought some things, as gloves and bandstrings, &c. So back to the Cockpitt, and there, by the favour of one Mr. Bowman, he and I got in, and there saw the King and Duke of York and his Duchesse (which is a plain woman, and like her mother, my Lady Chancellor). And so saw "The Humersome Lieutenant"¹ acted before the King, but not very well done. But my pleasure was great to see the manner of it, and so many great beauties, but above all Mrs. Palmer, with whom the King do discover a great deal of familiarity. So Mr. Creed and I (the play being done) went to Mrs. Harper's, and there sat and drank, it being about twelve at night. The ways being now so dirty, and stopped up with the rayles which are this day set up in the streets, I would not go home, but went with him to his lodging at Mr. Ware's, and there lay all night.

¹ "The Humorous Lieutenant," a Tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

21st (Lord's day). In the morning we were troubled to hear it rain as it did, because of the great show to-morrow. Here dined Doctor Thos. Pepys¹ and Dr. Fayrebrother; and all our talk about to-morrow's showe, and our trouble that it is like to be a wet day. All the way is so thronged with people to see the triumphall arches, that I could hardly pass for them. So home, people being at church, and I got home unseen, and so up to my chamber and saw done these last five or six days' diarys. My mind a little troubled about my workmen, which, being foreigners, are like to be troubled by a couple of lazy rogues that worked with me the other day, that are citizens, and so my work will be hindered, but I must prevent it if I can.

22d. KING'S GOING FROM Y^E TOWER TO
WHITE HALL.

Up early and made myself as fine as I could, and put on my velvet coat, the first day that I put it on, though made half a year ago. And being ready, Sir W. Batten, my Lady, and his two daughters and his son and wife, and Sir W. Pen and his son and I, went to Mr. Young's, the flag-maker, in Corne-hill; and there we had a good room to ourselves, with wine and good cake, and saw the show very well. In which it is impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid, and their horses and horses-clothes, among others, my Lord Sandwich's. Embroidery and diamonds were ordinary among them. The Knights of the Bath was a brave sight of itself; and their Esquires, among which Mr. Armiger was an Esquire to one of the Knights. Remarquable were the two men that represent the two Dukes of Normandy and Aquitane. The Bishops come next after Barons, which is the

¹ Doctor in Civil Law.

higher place ; which makes me think that the next Parliament they will be called to the House of Lords. My Lord Monk rode bare after the King, and led in his hand a spare horse, as being Master of the Horse. The King, in a most rich embroidered suit and cloak, looked most noble. Wadlow,¹ the vintner, at the Devil,² in Fleet-streete, did lead a fine company of soldiers, all young comely men, in white doublets. There followed the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir G. Carteret, a company of men all like Turkes ; but I know not yet what they are for. The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows, one of which over against us I took much notice of, and spoke of her, which made good sport among us. So glorious was the show with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome with it. Both the King and the Duke of York took notice of us, as they saw us at the window. The show being ended, Mr. Young

¹ *Wadlow*. Simon Wadlow, the original of "old Sir Simon the king," the favourite air of Squire Western in "Tom Jones."

"Hang up all the poor hop-drinkers,
Cries old Sim, the king of skinkers."

GIFFORD'S BEN JONSON, vol. ix. p. 73. 1875.

See Diary, 25th Feb. 1664-5. (M. B.)

² We do not see any reason for discrediting the statement that the whole of the Devil Tavern was pulled down in 1787, and of its having been purchased by Messrs. Child and Co. for the sum of £2,800, and in the year following the row of houses now known as Child's Place was built upon the site. It may be worth recording that excellent cellars also run beneath the open space in front of those houses, as they were in all probability the cellars in which Simon Wadlow (the landlord at the sign of "St. Dunstan pulling the Devil by the nose," commonly known as the "Old Devil") kept his celebrated wines. The great room was called the Apollo. Here Jonson lorded it with greater authority than Dryden did afterwards at Will's, or Addison at Button's. Taken from Price's *y^e Marigold*. (M. B.)

did give us a dinner, at which we were very merry, and pleased above imagination at what we have seen. Sir W. Batten going home, he and I called and drunk some mum¹ and laid our wager about my Lady Faulconbridge's name, which he says not to be Mary, and so I won above 20s. So home, where Will and the boy staid and saw the show upon Towre Hill, and Jane at T. Pepys's, the Turner, and my wife at Charles Glassecocke's, in Fleet Street. In the evening by water to White Hall to my Lord's, and there I spoke with my Lord. He talked with me about his suit, which was made in France, and cost him 200*l.*, and very rich it is with embroidery. I lay with Mr. Shepley, and

CORONAÇON DAY.

23d. About 4 I rose and got to the Abbey, where I followed Sir J. Denham,² the Surveyor, with some company that he was leading in. And with much ado, by the favour of Mr. Cooper, his man, did get up into a great scaffold across the North end of the Abbey, where with a great deal of patience I sat from past 4 till 11 before the King came in. And a great pleasure it was to see the Abbey raised in the middle, all covered with red,

¹ *Mum.* Ale brewed with wheat at Brunswick.

"Sedulous and stout
With bowls of fattening *mum*."

J. PHILLIPS, *Cyder*, vol. ii. p. 231.

As soon as the beer begins to work, they put into it the inner rind of fir, tops of fir and birch, betony, marjory, pennyroyal, wild thyme, &c. Our English brewers use cardamum, ginger, and sassafras, instead of the inner rind of fir, and add also walnut rinds, madder, red sanders, and elecampane. (M.B.)

² Created at the Restoration K.B., and Surveyor-General of all the King's buildings; better known as the author of "Cooper's Hill." Ob. 1668.

and a throne (that is a chaire) and footstoole on the top of it; and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fidders, in red vests. At last comes in the Dean and Prebends of Westminster, with the Bishops (many of them in cloth of gold copes), and after them the Nobility, all in their Parliament robes, which was a most magnificent sight. Then the Duke, and the King with a scepter (carried by my Lord Sandwich) and sword and mond¹ before him, and the crowne too. The King in his robes, bare-headed, which was very fine. And after all had placed themselves, there was a sermon and the service; and then in the Quire at the high altar, the King passed through all the ceremonies of the Coronacon, which to my great grief I and most in the Abbey could not see. The crowne being put upon his head, a great shout begun, and he came forth to the throne, and there passed through more ceremonies: as taking the oath, and having things read to him by the Bishopp; and his lords (who put on their caps as soon as the King put on his crowne) and bishops come, and kneeled before him. And three times the King at Armes went to the three open places on the scaffold, and proclaimed, that if any one could show any reason why Charles Stewart should not be King of England, that now he should come and speak. And a Generall Pardon also was read by the Lord Chancellor, and meddalls flung up and down by my Lord Cornwallis,² of silver, but I could not come by any. But so great a noise that I

¹ Mond, *i. e.* "the orb." *Mond* is explained in Ludwig's "Eng.-German Dictionary," *die kleine güldene welt-fugel, so ein zeichen eines kaysers oder königs ist.* "The small golden orb of the world, an emblem of an Emperor or King." In former editions, "wand." (M. B.)

² Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Bart., had been created a Baron three days before the Coronation. He was Treasurer of his Majesty's Household, and a Privy Councillor. Ob. Jan. 31, 1661-2.

could make but little of the musique ; and indeed, it was lost to every body. I went out a little while before the King had done all his ceremonies, and went round the Abbey to Westminster Hall, all the way within rayles, and 10,000 people with the ground covered with blue cloth ; and scaffolds all the way. Into the Hall I got, where it was very fine with hangings and scaffolds one upon another full of brave ladies ; and my wife in one little one, on the right hand. Here I staid walking up and down, and at last upon one of the side stalls I stood and saw the King come in with all the persons (but the soldiers) that were yesterday in the cavalcade ; and a most pleasant sight it was to see them in their several robes. And the King came in with his crowne on, and his sceptre in his hand, under a canopy borne up by six silver staves, carried by Barons of the Cinque Ports, and little bells at every end. And after a long time, he got up to the farther end, and all set themselves down at their several tables ; and that was also a brave sight : and the King's first course carried up by the Knights of the Bath. And many fine ceremonies there was of the Heralds leading up people before him, and bowing ; and my Lord of Albemarle's going to the kitchen and eating a bit of the first dish that was to go to the King's table. But, above all, was these three Lords, Northumberland, and Suffolke,¹ and the Duke of Ormond, coming before the courses on horseback, and staying so all dinner-time, and at last bringing up (Dymock) the King's Champion, all in armour on horseback, with his speare and targett carried before him. And a Herald proclaims " That if any dare deny Charles Stewart to be lawful King of England, here was a Champion that would fight with him ;" and with

¹ James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk.

these words, the Champion flings down his gauntlet, and all this he do three times in his going up towards the King's table. At last when he is come, the King drinks to him, and then sends him the cup which is of gold, and he drinks it off, and then rides back again with the cup in his hand. I went from table to table to see the Bishops and all others at their dinner, and was infinitely pleased with it. And at the Lords' table, I met with William Howe, and he spoke to my Lord for me, and he did give me four rabbits and a pullet, and so I got it and Mr. Creed and I got Mr. Michell to give us some bread, and so we at a stall eat it, as every body else did what they could get. I took a great deal of pleasure to go up and down, and look upon the ladies, and to hear the musique of all sorts, but above all, the 24 violins. About six at night they had dined, and I went up to my wife, and there met with a pretty lady, Mrs. Frankleyn, and kissed them both. And strange it is to think, that these two days have held up fair till now that all is done, and the King gone out of the Hall; and then it fell a-raining and thundering and lightening as I have not seen it do for some years: which people did take great notice of; God's blessing of the work of these two days, which is a foolery to take too much notice of such things. I observed little disorder in all this, but only the King's footmen had got hold of the canopy, and would keep it from the Barons of the Cinque Ports, which they endeavoured to force from them again, but could not do it till my Lord Duke of Albemarle caused it to be put into Sir R. Pye's¹ hand till to-morrow to be decided. At Mr. Bowyer's; a great deal of com-

¹ Sir Robert Pye, Bart., of Faringdon House, Berks; married Anne, daughter of the celebrated John Hampden. They lived together sixty years, and died in 1701, within a few weeks of each other.

pany, some I knew, others I did not. Here we staid upon the leads and below till it was late, expecting to see the fire-works, but they were not performed to-night: only the City had a light like a glory round about it with bonfires. At last I went to King-streete, and there sent Crockford to my father's and my house, to tell them I could not come home to-night, because of the dirt, and a coach could not be had. And so I took my wife and Mrs. Frankleyn (who I proffered the civility of lying with my wife at Mrs. Hunt's to-night) to Axe-yard, in which at the further end there were three great bonfires, and a great many great gallants, men and women; and they laid hold of us, and would have us drink the King's health upon our knees, kneeling upon a faggot, which we all did, they drinking to us one after another. Which we thought a strange frolique; but these gallants continued thus a great while, and I wondered to see how the ladies did tipple. At last I sent my wife and her bedfellow to bed, and Mr. Hunt and I went in with Mr. Thornbury (who did give the company all their wine, he being yeoman of the wine-cellar to the King); and there, with his wife and two of his sisters, and some gallant sparks that were there, we drank the King's health, and nothing else, till one of the gentlemen fell down stark drunk, and there lay; and I went to my Lord's pretty well. Thus did the day end with joy every where; and blessed be God, I have not heard of any mischance to any body through it all, but only to Serj^t. Glynne,¹ whose horse fell upon him yesterday, and is like to kill him, which people

¹ He had been Recorder of London; and during the Protectorate was made Chief Justice of the Upper Bench; nevertheless he did Charles II. great service, and was in consequence knighted and appointed King's Serjeant, and his son created a Baronet. Ob. 1666.

do please themselves to see how just God is to punish the rogue at such a time as this; he being now one of the King's Serjeants, and rode in the cavalcade with Maynard,¹ to whom people wish the same fortune. There was also this night in King-streete, a woman had her eye put out by a boy's flinging a fire-brand into the coach. Now, after all this, I can say that, besides the pleasure of the sight of these glorious things, I may now shut my eyes against any other objects, nor for the future trouble myself to see things of state and shoue, as being sure never to see the like again in this world.

24th. Waked in the morning with my head in a sad taking through the last night's drink, which I am very sorry for; so rose and went out with Mr. Creed to drink our morning draft, which he did give me in chocolate² to settle my stomach. At night, set myself to write down these three days' diary, and while I am about it, I hear the noise of the chambers,³ and other things of the fire-works, which are now playing upon the Thames before the King; and I wish myself with them, being sorry not to see them. So to bed.

¹ John Maynard, an eminent lawyer; made Serjeant to Cromwell in 1653, and afterwards King's Serjeant by Charles II., who knighted him. In 1661 he was chosen Member for Berealston, and sat in every Parliament till the Revolution. Ob. 1690, aged 88. He waited upon William with an address of congratulation after the abdication of James, and when the new King, observing his age, told him he must have outlived many of the judges and of the lawyers of his own standing: "Yes," replied Sir John, "and I should have outlived the law too, if your majesty had not come to the throne of this country." (M. B.)

² Chocolate was introduced into England about the year 1652. In the "Publick Advertiser" of Tuesday, June 16-22, 1657, we find the following: "In Bishopsgate Street in Queen's Head Alley, at a Frenchman's house, is an excellent West India drink called *chocolate*, to be sold, where you may have it ready at any time, and also unmade at reasonable rates." (M. B.)

³ Chamber, a species of great gun.

25th. At noon Mr. Moore and I went to an Ordinary at the King's Head in Towre Street, and there had a dirty dinner.

26th. At the office all the morning, having some thoughts to order my business so as to go to Portsmouth the next week with Sir Robert Slingsby.

27th. Dined with my Lady, and after dinner with Mr. Creed and Captain Ferrers to the Theatre to see "The Chances."

28th (Lord's day). In the morning to my father's, where I dined, and in the afternoon to their church, where come Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Edward Pepys, and several other ladies, and so I went out of the pewe into another. Sent for to my father's, where my cozen Angier and his wife, of Cambridge, to whom I went, and was glad to see them, and sent for wine for them, and they supped with my father.

29th. To the office, where it is determined that I should go to Portsmouth to-morrow.

30th. This morning my wife and I and Mr. Creed took coach, and in Fish-street took up Mr. Hater and his wife, who through her maske seemed at first to be an old woman, but afterwards I found her to be a very pretty modest black woman. We got a small bait at Leatherhead, and so to Godlyman,¹ where we lay all night, and were very merry, having this day no other extraordinary rencontre, but my hat falling off my head at Newington into the water, by which it was spoiled, and I ashamed of it. I am sorry that I am not at London, to be at Hide-parke to-morrow, among the great gallants and ladies, which will be very fine.²

May 1st. Up early, and bated at Petersfield, in the room which the King lay in lately at his being there. Here very merry, and played with our wives

¹ Godalming.

² *Hyde Park* must have been the fashionable Mall so early as

at bowles. Then we set forth again, and so to Portsmouth, seeming to me to be a very pleasant and strong place; and we lay at the Red Lyon, where Haselrigge and Scott and Walton did hold their councill, when they were here, against Lambert and the Committee of Safety. Several officers of the Yard came to see us to-night, and merry we were, but troubled to have no better lodgings.

2nd. Up, and Mr. Creed and I to walk round the towne upon the walls. Then to our inne, and there all the officers of the Yard to see me with great respect, and I walked with them to the Docke and saw all the stores, and much pleased with the sight of the place. Back and brought them all to dinner with me, and treated them handsomely; and so after dinner by water to the Yard, and there we made the sale of the old provisions. Then we and our wives all to see the Montagu, which is a fine ship, and so to the towne again by water, and then to see the

the beginning of the seventeenth century, for a song of that time says of Hyde Park:

“What thruch your ladies
All of the land
Come riding hither
Forth of the Strand.”

PINKERTON'S *Ancient Scottish Poems*, vol. ii. p. 499.
London, 1786.

In the Prologue to the *Staple*, in 1625, we find:

“How many coaches in Hyde Park did show last Spring.”

BEN JONSON'S *Works*, vol. v. p. 157. 1875.

And in 1620 it was a famous place for people of fashion meeting with their coaches. Edward VI. used to hunt in Hyde Park. In 1653 Evelyn writes (“Diary,” 8vo., 1827, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64), “I went to take the air in Hyde Park, where every coach was made to pay a shilling, and horse 6*d.* by the sordid fellow, who had purchased it of the State, as they were ‘called.’”—BUCKLE, *Common-place Book*, vol. ii. p. 437. (M. B.)

room where the Duke of Buckingham¹ was killed by Felton. So to our lodging, and to supper and to bed.

3rd. Early to walk with Mr. Creed up and down the towne, and it was in his and some others' thoughts to have got me made free of the towne, but the Mayor, it seems, unwilling, and so they could not do it. Then to the payhouse, and so to a short dinner, and then took coach to Petersfield, having nothing more of trouble in all my journey, but the exceeding unmannerly and most epicure-like palate of Mr. Creed. Here my wife and I lay in the room the Queene lately lay at her going into France.

4th. Up in the morning and took coach, and so to Gilford, where we lay at the Red Lyon, the best Inne, and lay in the room the King lately lay in, where we had time to see the Hospital, built by Archbishop Abbott, and the free schoole, and were civilly treated by the Mayster. So to supper, and to bed, being very merry about our discourse with the Drawers concerning the minister of the Towne, with a red face and a girdle.

5th (Lord's day). Mr. Creed and I went to the red-faced Parson's church, and heard a good sermon of him, better than I looked for. Then home, and had a good dinner, and after dinner fell in some talk in Divinity that kept us till it was past Church time. Anon we walked into the garden, and there played the fool a great while, trying who of Mr. Creed or I could go best over the edge of an old fountaine well, and I won a quart of sack of him. Then to supper in the banquet house, and there my wife and I did talk high, she against and I for Mrs. Pierce (that she was a beauty), till we were both angry. Then

¹ Killed by Felton when going in command of an armament for the relief of Rochelle, August, 1628, in his 36th year. (M. B.)

to walk in the fields, and so to our quarters, and to bed.

6th. Up by four o'clock and took coach, and staid by the way and eat some cakes, and so home. I hear to-night that the Duke of York's son is this day dead, which I believe will please every body; and I hear that the Duke and his Lady themselves are not much troubled at it.

7th. My Lady, I find, is, since my going, gone to the Wardrobe.¹ Then with Mr. Creed into London; stopped in our way by the City trayne-bands, who go in much solemnity and pomp this day to muster before the King and the Duke, and shops in the City are shut up every where all this day. He carried me to an ordinary by the Old Exchange, where we come a little too late, but we had very good cheer for our 18*d.* a-piece, and an excellent droll too, my hoste, and his wife so fine a woman, and sung and played so well that I staid a great while and drunk a great deal of wine. To bed, having sent my Lord a letter to-night to excuse myself for not going with him to-morrow to the Hope, whither he is to go to see in what condition the fleete is in.

8th. This morning came my brother John to take his leave of me, he being to return to Cambridge to-morrow, and after I had chid him for going with my Will the other day to Deptford, I did give him some good counsell and 20*s.* in money, and so he went away. At night comes my wife not well from my father's, having had a fore-tooth drawn out to-day, which do trouble me. To-day I received a letter from my uncle, to beg an old fiddle of me for my Cozen Perkin, the miller, whose mill the wind hath lately broke down, and now he hath nothing to live by but fiddling, and he must needs have it against

¹ Lord Sandwich's residence as Keeper of the Wardrobe.

(M. B.)

Whitsuntide to play to the country girles; but it vexed me to see how my uncle writes to me, as if he were not able to buy him one.

9th. With my Lord at his lodgings, and there being with him my Lord Chamberlaine, I spoke for my old waterman Payne, to get into White's place, who was waterman to my Lord Chamberlaine, and is now to go master of the barge to my Lord to sea, and my Lord Chamberlaine did promise that Payne should be entertained in White's place with him. From thence to Sir G. Carteret, and there did get his promise for the payment of the remainder of the bill of Mr. Creed's, wherein of late I have been so much concerned, which did so much rejoyce me that I meeting with Mr. Childe took him to the Swan Taverne in King Street, and there did give him a tankard of white wine and sugar.

10th. At the office all the morning, and the afternoon among my workmen with great pleasure, because being near an end of their work.

11th. To Graye's Inne, and there to a barber's, where I was trimmed, and had my haire cutt, in which I am lately become a little curious, finding that the length of it do become me very much.

12th. I staid at home all this morning, being the Lord's day, making up my private accounts and setting papers in order. Dined with my wife, then I walked forth towards Westminster, and at the Savoy heard Dr. Fuller preach upon David's words, "I will wait with patience all the days of my appointed time until my change comes;" but methought it was a poor dry sermon. And I am afeard my former high esteem of his preaching was more out of opinion than judgment. Met with Mr. Creed, with whom I went and walked in Grayes-Inn-walks, and from thence to Islington, and there eate and drank at the house my father and we were wont of

old to go to; and after that walked homeward, and parted in Smithfield: and so I home, much wondering to see how things are altered with Mr. Creed, who, twelve months ago, might have been got to hang himself almost as soon as go to a drinking-house on a Sunday.

14th. Finding my head grow weak now-a-days if I come to drink wine, and therefore hope that I shall leave it off of myself, which I pray God I could do. My Lord told me of his intention to get the Muster Master's place for Mr. Pierce, the purser, who he has a mind to carry to sea with him, and spoke very slightly of Mr. Creed, as that he had no opinion at all of him, but only he was forced to make use of him because of his present accounts. In the evening Mr. Shepley came to me for some money, and so he and I to the Mitre, and there we had good wine and a gammon of bacon.

15th. This afternoon there came two men with an order from a Committee of Lords to demand some books of me out of the office, in order to the examining of Mr. Hutchinson's accounts, but I give them a surly answer, and they went away to complain, which put me into some trouble with myself, but I resolve to go to-morrow myself to these Lords and answer them.

16th. About 2 o'clock went in my velvet coat by water to the Savoy, and there, having staid a good while, I was called into the Lords, and there, quite contrary to my expectations, they did treat me very civilly, telling me that what they had done was out of zeal to the King's service, and that they would joyne with the governors of the chest with all their hearts, since they knew that there was any, which they did not before. I give them very respectful answer and so went away to the Theatre, and there saw the latter end of "The Mayd's

Tragedy," which I never saw before, and methinks it is too sad and melancholy. To the Wardrobe, and there we found my Lord newly gone away with the Duke of Ormond and some others, whom he had had to a collacion; and so we, with the rest of the servants in the hall, sat down and eat of the best cold meats that ever I eat on in all my life. From thence I went home, Mr. Moore with me to the waterside, telling me how kindly he is used by my Lord and my Lady since his coming hither as a servant.

17th. At noon Lieutenant Lambert came to me, and he and I to the Exchange, and thence to an ordinary over against it, where to our dinner we had a fellow play well upon the bagpipes and whistle like a bird exceeding well, and I had a fancy to learn to whistle as he do, and did promise to come some other day and give him an angell to teach me. To the office till 9 at night. So home to my musique, and my wife and I sat singing in my chamber a good while together, and then to bed.

18th. Towards Westminster, from the Towre, by water, and was fain to stand upon one of the pieres about the bridge, before the men could drag their boat through the lock, and which they could not do till another was called to help them. Being through bridge I found the Thames full of boats and gallys, and upon inquiry found that there was a wager to be run this morning. So spying of Payne in a gally, I went into him, and there staid, thinking to have gone to Chelsy with them. But upon the start, the wager boats fell foul one of another, till at last one of them gives over, pretending foule play, and so the other row away alone, and all our sport lost. So I went ashore to Westminster; where it was very pleasant to see the Hall in the condition it is now, with the Judges on the benches at the further end of it, which

I had not seen all this terme till now. So I home, where I staid all the afternoon, and in the garden reading "*Faber Fortunæ*" with great pleasure.

19th (Lord's day). I walked in 'the morning towards Westminster, and, seeing many people at York House, I went down and found them at masse, it being the Spanish ambassador's; and so I got into one of the gallerys, and there heard two masses done, I think, not in so much state as I have seen them heretofore. After that into the garden, and walked a turn or two, but found it not so fine a place as I always took it for by the outside. Capt. Ferrers and Mr. Howe and myself to Mr. Wilkinson's at the Crowne: then to my Lord's, where we went and sat talking and laughing in the drawing-room a great while. All our talk about their going to sea this voyage, which Capt. Ferrers is in some doubt whether he shall go or no, but swears that he would go, if he were sure never to come back again; and I, giving him some hopes, he grew so mad with joy that he fell a-dancing and leaping like a madman. Now it fell out so that the balcone windows were open, and he went to the rayle and made an offer to leap over, and asked what if he should leap over there. I told him I would give him 40*l.* if he did not go to sea. With that thought I shut the doors, and W. Howe hindered him all we could; yet he opened them again, and, with a vault, leaps down into the garden:—the greatest and most desperate frolic that ever I saw in my life. I run to see what was become of him, and we found him crawled upon his knees, but could not rise; so we went down into the garden and dragged him to the bench, where he looked like a dead man, but could not stir; and, though he had broke nothing, yet his pain in his back was such as he could not endure. With this, my Lord (who was in the little new room) come to us in amaze, and bid us carry

him up, which, by our strength, we did, and so laid him in East's bed, by the doore; where he lay in great pain. We sent for a doctor and chyrurgeon, but none to be found, till by-and-by by chance comes in Dr. Clerke, who is afeard of him.¹ So we sent to get a lodging for him, and I went up to my Lord, where Captain Cooke, Mr. Gibbons, and others of the King's musicians were come to present my Lord with some songs and symphonys, which were performed very finely. I am troubled to see my father so much decay of a suddain, as he do both in his seeing and hearing, and as much to hear of him how my brother Tom do grow disrespectful to him and my mother. I went home, where to prayers (which I have not had in my house a good while), and so to bed.

20th. Visited by Mr. Anderson, my former chamber fellow at Cambridge, with whom I parted at the Hague, but I did not go forth with him, only gave him a morning draft at home. At noon Mr. Creed came to me, and he and I to the Exchange, and so to an ordinary to dinner, and after dinner to the Mitre, and there sat drinking while it rained very much. Then to the office, where I found Sir Williams both, choosing of masters for the new fleet of ships that is ordered to be set forth, and Pen seeming to be in an ugly humour, not willing to gratify one that I mentioned to be put in, did vex me. We sat late, and so home.

21st. Up early, and, with Sir R. Slingsby (and Major Waters the deafe gentleman, his friend, for company's sake) to the Victualling-office (the first time that I ever knew where it was), and there staid while he read a commission for enquiry into some of the King's lands and houses thereabouts, that are

¹ He recovered.

given his brother. And then we took boat to Woolwich, where we staid and gave order for the fitting out of some more ships presently. And then to Deptford, where we did the same ; and so took barge again, and were overtaken by the King in his barge, he having been down the river with his yacht this day for pleasure to try it ; and, as I hear, Commissioner Pett's do prove better than the Dutch one, and that that his brother built. While we were upon the water, one of the greatest showers of rain fell that ever I saw. The Comptroller and I landed with our barge at the Temple, and from thence I went to my father's, and there did give order about some clothes to be made, and did buy a new hatt, cost between 20 and 30 shillings, at Mr. Holden's. So home.

22nd. To Westminster, and there missed of my Lord, and so about noon I and W. Howe by water to the Wardrobe, where my Lord and all the officers of the Wardrobe dined, and several other friends of my Lord, at a venison pasty. Before dinner, my Lady Wright and my Lady Jem. sang songs to the harpsicon. Very pleasant and merry at dinner. At night before I went to bed the barber came to trim me and wash me, and so to bed, in order to my being clean to-morrow.

23rd. This day I went to my Lord, and about many other things at Whitehall, and there made even my accounts with Mr. Shepley at my Lord's, and then with him and Mr. Moore and John Bowles to the Rhenish wine house, and there came Jonas Moore, the mathematician, to us, and there he did by discourse make us fully believe that England and France were once the same continent, by very good arguments, and spoke very many things, not so much to prove the Scripture false as that the time therein is not well computed nor understood. From thence

home by water, and there shifted myself into my black silk suit (the first day I have put it on this year), and so to my Lord Mayor's by coach, with a great deal of honourable company, and great entertainment. At table I had very good discourse with Mr. Ashmole, wherein he did assure me that frogs and many insects do often fall from the sky, ready formed. Dr. Bates's singularity in not rising up nor drinking the King's nor other healths at the table was very much observed. From thence we all took coach, and to our office, and there sat till it was late; and so I home and to bed by day-light. This day was kept a holy-day through the towne; and it pleased me to see the little boys walk up and down in procession with their broom-staffs in their hands, as I had myself long ago gone.¹

24th. At home all the morning making up my private accounts, and this is the first time that I do find myself to be clearly worth £500 in money, besides all my goods in my house, &c. In the afternoon at the office late, and then I went to the Wardrobe, where I found my Lord at supper, and therefore I walked a good while till he had done, and I went in to him, and there he looked over my accounts. Then down to the kitchen to eat a bit of bread and butter, which I did, and there I took one of the mayds by the chin, thinking her to be Susan, but it proved to be her sister, who is very like her.

25th. All the morning at home about business. At noon to the Temple, where I staid and looked over a book or two at Playford's, and then to the Theatre, where I saw a piece of "The Silent Woman," which pleased me. So homewards, and in my way bought "The Bondman" in Paul's Churchyard, and so home, where I found all clean, and the hearth

¹ The "beating of the bounds" of the parish on Ascension Day, or Holy Thursday. (M. B.)

and range, as it is now enlarged, set up, which pleases me very much.

26th (Lord's day). Lay long in bed. To church and heard a good sermon at our own church, where I have not been a great many weeks. Dined with my wife alone at home pleasing myself in that my house do begin to look as if at last it would be in good order. This day the Parliament received the communion of Dr. Gunning at St. Margaret's, Westminster. In the afternoon both the Sir Williams came to church, where we had a dull stranger. After church home, and so to the Mitre, where I found Dr. Burnett,¹ the first time that ever I met him to drink with him, and so I to Sir W. Batten's, where I have on purpose made myself a great stranger, only to get a high opinion a little more of myself in them. Here I heard how Mrs. Browne, Sir W. Batten's sister, is brought to bed, and I to be one of the god-fathers, which I could not nor did deny. Which, however, did trouble me very much to be at charge to no purpose, so that I could not sleep hardly all night, but in the morning I bethought myself, and I think it is very well I should do it. Sir W. Batten told me how Mr. Prin (among the two or three that did refuse to-day to receive the sacrament upon their knees) was offered by a mistake the drinke afterwards, which he did receive, being denied the drinke by Dr. Gunning, unless he would take it on his knees; and after that by another the bread was brought him, and he did take it sitting, which is thought very preposterous.

27th. With my Lords Sandwich and Hinchinbroke to the Lords' House by boat at Westminster, and there I left them. Then to the lobby, and after

¹ See Diary, 25th August, 1665: "This day I am told that Dr. Burnett, my physician, is this morning dead of the plague."

waiting for Sir G. Downing's coming out, to speak with him about the giving me up of my bond, for my honesty when I was his clerk, but to no purpose, I went to Clerke's at the Legg, and there I found both Mr. Pierces, Mr. Rolt, formerly too great a man to meet upon such even terms, and there we dined very merry, there coming to us Captain Ferrers, this being the first day of his going abroad since his leape a week ago, which I was greatly glad to see. By water to the office, and there sat late, Sir G. Carteret coming in, who among other things did inquire into the naming of the maisters for this fleet, and was very angry that they were named as they are, and above all to see the maister of the *Adventure* (for whom there is some kind of difference between Sir W. Pen and me) turned out, who has been in her list. The office done, I went with the Comptroller to the Coffee house, and there we discoursed of this, and I seem to be fond of him, and indeed I find I must carry fair with all as far as I see it safe.

28th. With Mr. Shepley to the Exchange about business, and there, by Mr. Rawlinson's favour, got into a balcone over against the Exchange; and there saw the hangman burn, by vote of Parliament, two old acts, the one for constituting us a Commonwealth, and the other¹ I have forgot. Which still do make me think of the greatness of this late turne, and what people will do to-morrow against what they all, through profit or fear, did promise and practise this day. To Cheapside about buying a piece of plate to give away to-morrow to Mrs. Browne's child. So to Sir W. Pen's, and there sat alone with him till ten at night in talk with great content, he telling me things and persons that I did not understand in the late times, and so I home to bed.

29th (King's birth-day). Rose early, and put six

¹ It was an Act for subscribing the Engagement.

spoons and a porringer of silver in my pocket to give away to-day. Sir W. Pen and I took coach, and (the weather and ways being foule) went to Walthamstowe; and being come there heard Mr. Radcliffe, my former school fellow at Paul's (who is yet a mere boy), preach upon "Nay, let him take all, since my Lord the King is returned," &c. He reads all, and his sermon very simple, but I looked for new matter. Back to dinner to Sir William Batten's; and then, after a walk in the fine gardens, we went to Mrs. Browne's, where Sir W. Pen and I were godfathers, and Mrs. Jordan and Shipman godmothers to her boy. And there, before and after the christening, we were with the woman above in her chamber; but whether we carried ourselves well or ill, I know not; but I was directed by young Mrs. Batten. One passage of a lady that eate wafers with her dog did a little displease me. I did give the midwife 10s. and the nurse 5s. and the mayde of the house 2s. But for as much I expected to give the name to the childe, but did not (it being called John), I forbore then to give my plate till another time after a little more advice. All being done, we went to Mrs. Shipman's, who is a great butter-woman, and I did see there the most of milk and creame, and the cleanest that ever I saw in my life. After we had filled our bellies with creame, we took our leaves and away. In our way, we had great sport to try who should drive fastest, Sir W. Batten's coach, or Sir W. Pen's chariott, they having four, and we two horses, and we beat them. But it cost me the spoiling of my clothes and velvet coate with dirt. Being come home I to bed, and give my breeches to be dried by the fire against to-morrow.

30th. To the Wardrobe and there, with my Lord, went into his new barge to try her, and found her a good boat, and like my Lord's contrivance of the

door to come out round and not square as they used to do, and thence I to Greatorrex, who took me to Arundell-House, and there showed me some fine flowers in his garden, and all the fine statues in the gallery, which I formerly had seen, and is a brave sight, and thence to a blind dark cellar, where we had two bottles of good ale, and so after giving him direction for my silver side-table, I took boat at Arundell stairs. This day, I hear, the Parliament have ordered a bill to be brought in for the restoring the Bishops to the House of Lords; which they had not done so soon but to spite Mr. Prin, who is every day so bitter against them in his discourse in the House.

31st. To my father's, but to my great grief I found my father and mother in a great deal of discontent one with another, and indeed my mother is grown now so pettish that I know not how my father is able to bear with it. I did talk to her so as did not indeed become me, but I could not help it, she being so unsufferably foolish and simple, so that my father, poor man, is become a very unhappy man. There I dined, and so home and to the office all the afternoon till 9 at night. Great talk now how the Parliament intend to make a collection of free gifts to the King through the Kingdom; but I think it will not come to much.

June 1st. Sir W. Pen and I and Mr. Gauden by water to Woolwich, and there went from ship to ship to give order for and take notice of their forwardness to go forth, and then to Deptford and did the like, having dined at Woolwich with Captain Poole at the taverne there. From Deptford we walked to Redriffe, calling at the half-way house, and there came into a room where there was infinite of new cakes placed that are made against Whitsuntide, and there we were very merry.

2nd. The barber having done with me, I went to church, and there heard a good sermon of Mr. Mills, fit for the day. Then home to dinner, and then to church again, and going home I found Greatorrex (whom I expected to-day at dinner) come to see me, and so he and I in my chamber drinking of wine and eating of anchovies an hour or two, discoursing of many things in mathematics, and among others he showed me how it comes to pass the strength that levers have, and he showed me that what is got as to matter of strength is lost by them as to matter of time. It rained very hard, as it hath done of late so much that we begin to doubt a famine. After prayers to bed.

3rd. To the Wardrobe, where discoursing with my Lord, he did instruct me as to the business of the Wardrobe, in case, in his absence, Mr. Townsend should die, and told me that he do intend to joyne me and Mr. Moore with him as to the business, now he is going to sea, and spoke to me many other things, as to one that he do put the greatest confidence in, of which I am proud. Here I had a good occasion to tell him (what I have had long in my mind) that, since it has pleased God to bless me with something, I am desirous to lay out something for my father, and so have pitched upon Mr. Young's place in the Wardrobe, which I desired he would give order in his absence, if the place should fall that I might have the refusal. Which my Lord did freely promise me, at which I was very glad, he saying that he would do that at the least. My cozen Scott came to dine with me, and before we had done in comes my father Bowyer and my mother and four daughters, and a young gentleman and his sister, their friends, and there staid all the afternoon, which cost me great store of wine, and were very merry. Mr. Creed and I to the Towre,

to speak for some ammunition for my Lord ; and so he and I, with much pleasure, walked quite round the Towre, which I never did before. To the Beare, at the Bridge foot, thinking to have met my Lord Hinchinbroke and his brother setting forth for France ; but they being not come we went over to the Wardrobe, and there found that my Lord Abbot Montagu being not at Paris, my Lord hath a mind to have them stay a little longer before they go.

4th. To my Lord Crew's to dinner, and had very good discourse about having of young noblemen and gentlemen to think of going to sea, as being as honourable service as the land war. And among other things he told us how, in Queen Elizabeth's time, one young nobleman would wait with a trencher at the back of another till he came to age himself. And witnessed in my young Lord of Kent, that then was, who waited upon my Lord Bedford at table, when a letter came to my Lord Bedford that the Earldome of Kent was fallen to his servant, the young Lord ; and so he rose from table, and made him sit down in his place, and took a lower for himself, for so he was by place to sit. From thence to the Theatre and saw "Harry the 4th," a good play. That done I went over the water and walked over the fields to Southwarke, and so home and to my lute.

5th. This morning did give my wife 4*l.* to lay out upon lace and other things for herself. Sir W. Pen and I went home with Sir R. Slingsby to bowles in his ally, and there had good sport, and afterwards went in and drank and talked. I took my flageolette and played upon the leads in the garden, where Sir W. Pen came out in his shirt into his leads, and there we staid talking and singing, and drinking great drafts of claret, and eating botargo¹ and bread

¹ *Botargo*, a kind of salt cake, or rather sausage, made of the hard

and butter till 12 at night, it being moonshine ; and so to bed, very near fuddled.

6th. My head hath aaked all night, and all this morning, with my last night's debauch. Called up this morning by Lieutenant Lambert, who is now made Captain of the Norwich, and he and I went down by water to Greenwich, in our way observing and discoursing upon the things of a ship, he telling me all I asked him, which was of good use to me. There we went and eat and drank and heard musique at the Globe, and saw the simple motion that is there of a woman with a rod in her hand keeping time to the musique while it plays, which is simple, methinks. Back again by water, calling at Captain Lambert's house, which is very handsome and neat, and a fine prospect at top. So to the office, where we sat a little, and then I to Bridewell to Mr. Holland's, where his wife also, a plain dowdy, and his mother was. Here came two young gentlewomen to see Mr. Holland, and one of them could play pretty well upon the viallin, but, good God ! how these ignorant people did cry her up for it ! We were very merry. I staid and supped there, and so home and to bed. The weather very hot, this night I left off my wastecoate.

8th. To Whitehall to my Lord, who did tell me that he would have me go to Mr. Townsend, whom he had ordered to discover to me the whole mystery of the Wardrobe, and none else but me, and that he will make me deputy with him for fear that he should die in my Lord's absence, of which I was

roe of the sea mullet pickled with oil and vinegar, chiefly used to promote drinking by causing thirst. Of Gargantua it is said, " Because he was naturally phlegmatic, he began his meal with some dozens of gammons, dried neats' tongues, *botargos*, sausages, and such other forerunners of wine."—*Rabelais*, book i. chap. 21. See Nares' Glossary. (M. B.)

glad. I went to the Theatre and there saw Bartholomew Faire, the first time it was acted now-a-days. It is a most admirable play and well acted, but too much prophane and abusive. Then away home, and in my way called upon Mr. Rawlinson, for his advice to answer a letter of my uncle Robert, wherein he do offer me a purchase to lay out some money upon, that joynes upon some of his own lands, and plainly telling me that the reason of his advice is the convenience that it will give me as to his estate, of which I am exceeding glad, and am advised to give up wholly the disposal of my money to him, let him do what he will with it, which I shall do. So home and to bed.

9th (Lord's day). This day my wife put on her black silk gowne, which is now laced all over with black gimp lace, as the fashion is, in which she is very pretty. She and I walked to my Lady's at the Wardrobe, and there dined and was exceeding much made of. After dinner to Mr. Pierce's, and there he and I, and Mr. Symons (dancing master), that goes to sea with my Lord, to the Swan taverne, and there drank, and so again to White Hall, and there met with Dean Fuller, and walked a great while with him; among other things discoursed of the liberty the Bishop (by name he of Galloway) takes to admit into orders any body that will; among others, Roundtree, a simple mechanic that was a person formerly in the fleet.¹ He told me he would complain of it. By and by we went and got a

¹ The reading in the early editions of the Diary is, "a person formerly of the fleet;" in the later editions, "a parson formerly of the Fleet." The cypher for "person" or "parson" is the same. I have preferred the reading of the early editions, merely correcting "of" to "in," for two reasons—one, because the marriages were performed by clergymen, though disreputable, who would not require fresh ordination; the other because, although there were

sculler, and landing him at Worcester House, I and W. Howe, who came to us at Whitehall, went to the Wardrobe. I went up to Jane Shore's towre, and there W. Howe and I sang, and so took my wife and walked home, and so to bed.

10th. Early to my Lord's, who privately told me how the King had made him Ambassador in the bringing over the Queen. That he is to go to Algier, &c., to settle the business, and to put the fleet in order there; and so to come back to Lisbon with three ships, and there to meet the fleet that is to follow him. He sent for me, to tell me that he do intrust me with the seeing of all things done in his absence as to this great preparation, as I shall receive orders from my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Edward Montagu. At all which my heart is above measure glad; for my Lord's honour, and some profit to myself, I hope. By and by, out with Mr. Shepley, Walden,¹ Parliament-man for Huntingdon, Rolt, Mackworth, and Alderman Backwell, to a house hard by, to drink Lambeth ale. So I back to the Wardrobe, and there found my Lord going to Trinity House, this being the solemn day of choosing Master, and my Lord is chosen. I staid there and dined with my Lady; but after we were set, comes in some persons of condition, and so the children and I rose and dined by ourselves, all the children and I, and were very merry and they mighty fond of me.

11th. At the office this morning, Sir G. Carteret with us; and we agreed upon a letter to the Duke of York, to tell him the sad condition of this office for want of money; how men are not able to serve us more without some money; and that now the

Fleet marriages at that time, yet they do not seem to be common. The date of the earliest Fleet register now preserved in the Bishop of London's Registry is 1674. (M. B.)

¹ Lionel.



FRANCIS HAY

credit of the office is brought so low, that none will sell us any thing without our personal security given for the same.

12th. Wednesday, a day kept between a fast and a feast, the Bishops not being ready enough to keep the fast for foule weather before fair weather came; and so they were forced to keep it between both. I to Whitehall, and there with Captain Rolt and Ferrers we went to Lambeth to drink our morning draft, where at the Three Mariners, a place noted for their ale, we went and staid awhile very merry, and so away. Then to White Hall, where I met my Lord, who told me he must have 300*l.* laid out in cloth, to give in Barbary, as presents among the Turkes. At which occasion of getting something I was very glad. Home to supper.

13th. To Alderman Backwell's, but his servants not being up, I went home and put on my gray cloth suit and faced white coate, made of one of my wife's pettycoates, the first time I have had it on, and so in a riding garbe back again and spoke with Mr. Shaw at the Alderman's, who offers me 300*l.* if my Lord pleases to buy this cloth with, which pleased me well. So to the Wardrobe and got my Lord to order Mr. Creed to imprest¹ so much upon me to be paid by Alderman Backwell. So with my Lord to Whitehall by water, and he having taken leave of the King, comes to us at his lodgings and from thence goes to the garden staires and there takes barge, and at the staires was met by Sir R. Slingsby, who there took his leave of my Lord, and I heard my Lord thank him for his kindness to me, which Sir Robert answered much to my advantage. I went down with my Lord in the barge to Deptford, and there went on board the Dutch yacht and staid there a good while, W. Howe not being come

¹ See note, p. 223. (M. B.)

with my Lord's things, which made my Lord very angry. By and by he comes and so we set sayle, and anon went to dinner, my Lord and we very merry; and after dinner I went down below and there sang, and took leave of W. Howe, Captain Rolt, and the rest of my friends, then went up and took leave of my Lord, who give me his hand and parted with great respect. So went and Captain Ferrers with me into our wherry, and my Lord did give five guns, all they had charged, which was the greatest respect my Lord could do me, and of which I was not a little proud. So with a sad and merry heart I left them sailing pleasantly from Erith, hoping to be in the Downes to-morrow early. We toward London in our boat. Pulled off our stockings and bathed our legs a great while in the river, which I had not done some years before. By and by we come to Greenwich, and thinking to have gone on the King's yacht, the King was in her, so we passed by, and at Woolwich went on shore, and I home and with wine enough in my head, went to bed.

14th. To Whitehall to my Lord's, where I found Mr. Edward Montagu and his family come to lie during my Lord's absence. I sent to my house by my Lord's order his shipp and triangle virginall. So to my father's, and did give him order about the buying of this cloth to send to my Lord. But I could not stay with him myself, for having got a great cold by my playing the fool in the water yesterday I was in great pain, and so went home by coach to bed, and by keeping myself warme, I came to some ease.

15th. Dined with my Lady, who, now my Lord is gone, is come to her poor housekeeping again. Then to my father's, who tells me what he has done, and we resolved upon two pieces of scarlet, two of purple, and two of black, and 50*l.* in linen. I

home, taking 300*l.* with me home from Alderman Backwell's. I was going to bed, but there coming the Purser of the King's yacht for victuals presently,¹ for the Duke of York is to go down to-morrow, I got him to promise stowage for these things.

16th (Lord's day). No purser coming in the morning for the goods, and I hear that the Duke went last night, and so I am at a great losse what to do ; and so this day (though the Lord's day) staid at home, sending Will up and down to know what to do. The afternoon (while Will was abroad) I spent in reading "The Spanish Gypsey," a play not very good, though commended much. At night resolved to hire a Margate Hoy, who would go away to-morrow morning, which I did, and sent the things all by him.

18th. All this morning at home vexing about the delay of my painters, and about four in the afternoon my wife and I by water to Captain Lambert's, where we took great pleasure in their turret-garden, and seeing the fine needleworks of his wife, the best I ever saw in my life, and afterwards had a very handsome treat and good musique that she made upon the harpsicon, and with a great deal of pleasure staid till 8 at night, and so home again, there being a little pretty witty child that would not let us go without her, and so fell a-crying by the water-side.

19th. One thing I must observe here while I think of it, that I am now become the most negligent man in the world as to matters of newes, insomuch that, now-a-days, I neither can tell any, nor aske any of others.

20th. At home the greatest part of the day to see my workmen make an end, which this night they did to my great content.

¹ *i.e.* immediately. See note, 29th March, 1661. (M. B.)

21st. This morning going to my father's I met him, and so he and I went and drank our morning draft at the Samson in Paul's Churchyard, and eat some gammon of bacon, &c., and then parted, having bought some green Say for curtains in my parler. Mr. Norbury and I did discourse of his wife's house and land at Brampton, which I find too much for me to buy.

22nd. Abroad all the morning. At noon went and dined with my Lord Crew, where very much made of by him and his lady. Then to the Theatre, "The Alchymist,"¹ which is a most incomparable play. And that being done I met with little Luellin and Bllirton, who took me to a friend of theirs in Lincoln's Inne fields, one Mr. Hodges, where we drank great store of Rhenish wine and were very merry.

23rd (Lord's day). In the morning to church, and my wife not being well, I went with Sir W. Batten home to dinner, my Lady being out of towne, where there was Sir W. Pen, Captain Allen and his daughter Rebecca, and Mr. Hempson and his wife. After dinner to church all of us and had a very good sermon of a stranger, and so I and the young company to walk first to Graye's Inn Walks, where great store of gallants, but above all the ladies that I there saw, or ever did see, Mrs. Frances Butler (Monsieur L'Impertinent's sister) is the greatest beauty. Then we went to Islington, where at the great house I entertained them as well as I could, and so home with them, and so to my own home and to bed. Pall, who went this day to a child's christening of Kate Joyce's, staid out all night at my father's, she not being well.

24th (Midsummer-day). We kept this a holiday,

¹ By Ben Jonson. (M. B.)

and so went not to the office at all. I and Dr. Williams to the ordinary over against the Exchange, where we dined and had great wrangling with the master of the house when the reckoning was brought to us, he setting down exceeding high every thing.

25th. This morning came Mr. Goodgroome to me, with whom I agreed presently to give him 20s. entrance, which I then did, and 20s. a month more to teach me to sing, and so we began, and I hope I have come to something in it. His first song is "La cruda la bella." He gone my brother Tom comes, with whom I made even with my father and the two drapers for the cloths I sent to sea lately. To dine with my Lady at the Wardrobe, taking Dean Fuller along with me; then home, where I heard my father had been to find me about special business; so I took coach and went to him, and found by a letter to him from my aunt that my uncle Robert is taken with a dizzinesse in his head, so that they desire my father to come downe to look after his business, by which we guess that he is very ill, and so my father do think to go to-morrow. And so God's will be done.

27th. To my father's. There I told him how I would have him speak to my uncle Robert, when he comes thither, concerning my buying of land, that I could pay ready money 600*l.* and the rest by 150*l.* per annum, to make up as much as will buy 50*l.* per annum, which I do, though I not worth above 500*l.* ready money, that he may think me to be a greater saver than I am. Then with my Lady Batten, Mrs. Rebecca Allen, Mrs. Thompson, &c., two coaches of us, we went and saw "Bartholomew Fayre" acted very well. So home to bed. This day Mr. Holden sent me a bever, which cost me 4*l.* 5*s.*

28th. At home all the morning practising to sing, which is now my great trade, and at noon to my

Lady and dined with her. So back and to the office, and there sat till 7 at night, and then Sir W. Pen and I in his coach went to Moorefields, and there walked, and stood and saw the wrestling, which I never saw so much of before, between the north and west countrymen. So home, and this night had our bed set up in our room that we called the Nursery, where we lay, and I am very much pleased with the room.

29th. By a letter from the Duke complaining of the delay of the ships that are to be got ready, Sir Williams both and I went to Deptford and there examined into the delays, and were satisfied. Mr. Chetwind by chewing of tobacco is become very fat and sallow, whereas he was consumptive. In our discourse he fell commending of "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," as the best book, and the only one that made him a Christian, which puts me upon the buying of it, which I will do shortly.

30th (Lord's day). To church, where we observe the trade of briefs is come now up to so constant a course every Sunday, that we resolve to give no more to them.¹ Sir Williams both and I to Whitehall, where we met with the Duke of York, according to an order sent us yesterday from him, to give him an account where the fault lay in the not sending out of the ships, which we find to be only the wind hath been against them, and so they could not get out of the river. Here I to Graye's

¹ See "Gent. Mag.," vol. xxiv. p. 353, from original MS. book of "Collections in the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street: June 30, 1661."

"Collected for sev'all inhabitants of the parish of St. Dunstan's in the West towards there losse by } xxii^e. vii^d.
fire, one pound two shillings and seaven pence."

Entries of similar collections in church towards the relief of losses by fire, &c., on the *fourteen* successive Sundays previous to this appeal. (M. B.)

Inn Walk, all alone, and with great pleasure seeing the fine ladies walk there. Myself humming to myself (which now-a-days is my constant practice since I begun to learn to sing) the trillo, and found by use that it do come upon me. This day the Portuguese Ambassador came to White Hall to take leave of the King; he being now going to end all with the Queene, and to send her over. Myself in good health, but mighty apt to take cold, so that this hot weather I am fain to wear a cloth before my stomach.

July 1st. This morning I went up and down into the city, to buy several things, as I have lately done, for my house. Among other things, a fair chest of drawers for my own chamber, and an Indian gowne for myself. The first cost me 33s., the other 34s. Home and dined there, and Theodore Goodgroome, my singing master, with me, and then to our singing.

2nd. To Westminster Hall and there walked up and down, it being Terme time. Spoke with several, among others my cozen Roger Pepys, who was going up to the Parliament House, and inquired whether I had heard from my father, who writes that my uncle is by fits stupid, and like a man that is drunk, and sometimes speechless. Went to Sir William Davenant's¹ Opera; this being the fourth day that it hath begun, and the first that I have seen it. To-day was acted the second part of "The Siege of Rhodes."² We staid a very great while for the King and the Queen of Bohemia. And by the breaking of a board over our heads, we had a great deal of dust fell into the ladies' necks and the

¹ Sir William Davenant, the celebrated dramatic writer, and patentee of the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Ob. 1668, aged 64.

² Of which Sir W. Davenant was the author.

men's haire, which made good sport. The King being come, the scene opened ; which indeed is very fine and magnificent, and well acted, all but the Eunuche, who was so much out that he was hissed off the stage.

3rd. Dined with my Lady, who is in some mourning for her brother, Mr. Saml. Crew, who died yesterday of the spotted fever. So home through Duck Lane to inquire for some Spanish books, but found none that pleased me. So to the office. This day my Lady Batten and my wife were at the burial of a daughter of Sir John Lawson's, and had rings for themselves and their husbands.

4th. I went to the theatre, and there I saw "Clara-cilla"¹ (the first time I ever saw it), well acted. But strange to see this house, that used to be so thronged, now empty since the Opera begun ; and so will continue for a while, I believe.

5th. At home, and in the afternoon to the office, and that being done all went to Sir W. Batten's and there had a venison pasty, and were very merry.

6th. Waked this morning with news, brought me by a messenger on purpose, that my uncle Robert² is dead, and died yesterday ; so I rose sorry in some respect, glad in my expectations in another respect. So I made myself ready, went and told my uncle Wight, my Lady, and some others thereof, and bought me a pair of boots in St. Martin's, and got myself ready, and then to the Post House and set out about eleven and twelve o'clock, taking the messenger with me that came to me, and so we rode and got well by nine o'clock to Brampton, where I found my father well. My uncle's corps in a coffin standing upon joynt-stooles in the chimney in the hall ; but it begun to smell, and so I caused it to be set forth in

¹ A tragi-comedy by Thomas Killigrew.

² Of Brampton, in Huntingdonshire.

the yard all night, and watched by two men. My aunt I found in bed in a most nasty ugly pickle, made me sick to see it. My father and I lay together to-night, I greedy to see the will, but did not aske to see it till to-morrow.

7th (Lord's day). In the morning my father and I walked in the garden and read the will; where, though he gives me nothing at present till my father's death, or at least very little, yet I am glad to see that he hath done so well for us all, and well to the rest of his kindred. After that done, we went about getting things, as ribbands and gloves, ready for the burial. Which in the afternoon was done; where, it being Sunday, all people far and near come in; and in the greatest disorder that ever I saw, we made shift to serve them with what we had of wine and other things; and then to carry him to the church, where Mr. Taylor buried him, and Mr. Turner preached a funerall sermon, where he spoke not particularly of him anything, but that he was one so well known for his honesty, that it spoke for itself above all that he could say for it. And so made a very good sermon. Home with some of the company who supped there, and things being quiet, at night to bed.

8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th. I fell to work, and my father to look over my uncle's papers and clothes, and continued all this week upon that business, much troubled with my aunt's base, ugly humours. We had news of Tom Trice's putting in a caveat against us, in behalf of his mother, to whom my uncle hath not given anything, and for good reason therein expressed, which troubled us also. But above all, our trouble is to find that his estate appears nothing as we expected, and all the world believes; nor his papers so well sorted as I would have had them, but all in confusion, that break my brains to understand them. We missed also the surrenders of his copy-

hold land, without which the land would not come to us, but to the heire at lawe, so that what with this, and the badness of the drink and the ill opinion I have of the meat, and the biting of the gnats by night and my disappointment in getting home this week, and the trouble of sorting all the papers, I am almost out of my wits with trouble, only I appear the more contented, because I would not have my father troubled.

14th (Lord's day). At home, and Robert Barnwell with us, and dined, and in the evening my father and I walked round Portholme and viewed all the fields, which was very pleasant. Then to Hinchingbroke, which is now all in dirt, because of my Lord's building, which will make it very magnificent. Back to Brampton.

15th. Up by three o'clock this morning, and rode to Cambridge, and was there by seven o'clock, where, after I was trimmed, I went to Christ College, and found my brother John at eight o'clock in bed, which vexed me. Then to King's College chappell, where I found the scholars in their surplices at the service with the organs, which is a strange sight to what it used in my time to be here. Then with Dr. Fairbrother (whom I met there) to the Rose taverne, and called for some wine, and sent also for Mr. Sanchy, of Magdalen, with whom and other gentlemen, friends of his, we were very merry, and I treated them as well as I could, and so at noon took horse again, having taken leave of my cozen Angier, and rode to Impington, where I found my old uncle¹ sitting all alone, like a man out of the world : he can hardly see ; but all things else he do pretty livelyly. Then with Dr. John Pepys and him I read over the will, and had their advice therein, who, as to the

¹ Talbot Pepys.

sufficiency thereof confirmed me, and advised me as to the other parts thereof. Having done there, I rode to Gravely with much ado to inquire for a surrender of my uncle's in some of the copyholders' hands there, but I can hear of none, which puts me into very great trouble of mind, and so with a sad heart rode home to Brampton, but made myself as cheerful as I could to my father, and so to bed.

16th, 17th, 18th, 19th. These four days we spent in putting things in order, letting of the crop upon the ground, agreeing with Stankes to have a care of our business in our absence, and we think ourselves in nothing happy but in lighting upon him to be our bayly; in riding to Offord and Sturtlow, and up and down all our lands, and in the evening walking my father and I about the fields talking, and had advice from Mr. Moore from London, by my desire, that the three witnesses of the will being all legatees, will not do the will any wrong. To-night Serjeant Bernard, I hear, is come home into the country. My aunt continuing in her base, hypocritical tricks, which both Jane Perkin (of whom we make great use), and the mayde do tell us every day of.

20th. Up to Huntingdon this morning to Sir Robert Bernard, with whom I met Jaspar Trice. So Sir Robert caused us to sit down together and began discourse very fairly between us, so I drew out the Will and show it him, and [he] spoke between us as well as I could desire, but could come to no issue till Tom Trice comes. Here I staid and dined with Sir Robert Bernard and his lady, my Lady Digby, a very good woman. I walked home, and there found Tom Trice come, and he and my father gone to Goody Gorum's, where I found them and Jaspar Trice got before me, and Mr. Greene, and there had some calme discourse, but came to no issue, and so parted.

21st (Lord's day). At home all the morning,

putting my papers in order against my going to-morrow. To my business again in the afternoon, and in the evening came the two Trices, Mr. Greene, and Mrs. Philips, and so we began to argue. At last it came to some agreement that for our giving of my aunt £10 she is to quit the house, and for other matters they are to be left to the law, which do please us all, and so we broke up, pretty well satisfied.

22nd. Up by three, and going by four on my way to London; but the day proves very cold, so that having put on no stockings but thread ones under my boots, I was fain at Bigglesworth to buy a pair of coarse woollen ones, and put them on. So by degrees till I come to Hatfield before twelve o'clock, and walked all alone to the Vineyard, which is now a very beautiful place again; and coming back I met with Mr. Looker, my Lord's gardener (a friend of Mr. Eglin's), who showed me the house, the chappell with brave pictures, and, above all, the gardens, such as I never saw in all my life; nor so good flowers, nor so great gooseburys, as big as nutmegs. Back to the inne, and so to horse again, and with much ado got to London. Called at my uncle Fenner's, my mother's, my Lady's, and so home, in all which I found all things as well as I could expect. So weary and to bed.

23rd. Put on my mourning. In the afternoon, finding myself unfit for business, I went to the Theatre, and saw "*Brenoralt*," I never saw before. It seemed a good play, but ill acted; only I sat before Mrs. Palmer, the King's mistress, and filled my eyes with her, which much pleased me. Troubled to hear how proud and idle Pall is grown, that I am resolved not to keep her.

24th. This morning my wife in bed tells me of our being robbed of our silver tankard, which vexed me all day for the negligence of my people to leave the

door open. To the Wardrobe, but come too late, so dined with the servants. And then to my Lady, who do shew my wife and me the greatest favour in the world, in which I take great content. Home by water and to the office all the afternoon, which is a great pleasure to me again, to talk with persons of quality and to be in command, and I give it out among them that the estate left me is £200 a year in land, besides moneys, because I would put an esteem upon myself. I hear that my man Will hath lost his clock with my tankard, at which I am very glad.

25th. This morning came my box of papers from Brampton of all my uncle's papers, which will now set me at work enough. At noon I went to the Exchange, where I met my uncle Wight, and found him so discontented about my father (whether that he takes it ill that he has not been acquainted with things, or whether he takes it ill that he has nothing left him, I cannot tell), for which I am much troubled, and so staid not long to talk with him. Thence to my mother's, where I found my wife and my aunt Bell and Mrs. Ramsey, and great store of tattle there was between the old women and my mother, who thinks that there is, God knows what fallen to her, which makes me mad, but it was not a proper time to speak to her of it, and so I went away with Mr. Moore, and he and I to the Theatre, and saw "The Jovial Crew," the first time I saw it, and indeed it is as merry and the most innocent play that ever I saw, and well performed. Full of thoughts to think of the trouble that we shall go through before we come to see what will remain to us of all our expectations.

26th. Mr. Hill of Cambridge tells me, that yesterday put a change to the whole state of England as to the Church; for the King now would be forced to

favour Presbytery, or that the City would leave him : but I heed not what he says, though upon enquiry I do find that things in the Parliament are in a great disorder. Having the beginning of this week made a vow to myself to drink no wine this week (finding it to unfit me to look after business), and this day breaking of it against my will, I am much troubled for it, but I hope God will forgive me.

27th. To Westminster, where at Mr. Montagu's chamber I heard a Frenchman play, a friend of Monsieur Eschar's, upon the guitar, most extreme well, though at the best methinks it is but a bawble. From thence to Westminster Hall, where it was expected that the Parliament was to have been adjourned for two or three months, but something hinders it for a day or two. In the lobby I spoke with Mr. George Montagu, and advised about a ship to carry my Lord Hinchinbroke and the rest of the young gentlemen to France, and they have resolved of going in a hired vessell from Rye, and not in a man of war. He told me in discourse, that my Lord Chancellor is much envied, and that many great men, such as the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord of Bristoll,¹ do endeavour to undermine him, and that he believes it will not be done ; for that the King (though he loves him not in the way of a companion, as he do these young gallants that can answer him in his pleasures), yet cannot be without him, for his policy and service. From thence to the Wardrobe, where my wife met me, it being my Lord of Sandwich's birthday, and so we had many friends here, Mr. Townsend and his wife, and Captain Ferrer's lady and Captain Isham, and were very merry, and had a good venison pasty. Mr. Pargiter, the merchant, was with us also. After dinner Mr. Townsend

¹ George, second Earl of Bristol.

was called upon by Captain Cooke: so we three went to a taverne hard by, and there he did give us a song or two; and without doubt he hath the best manner of singing in the world. Back to my wife, and with my Lady Jem. and Pall by water through bridge, and showed them the ships with great pleasure, and then took them to my house to show it them (my Lady, their mother having been lately all alone to see it and my wife, in my absence in the country), and we treated them well, and were very merry. Then back again through bridge, and set them safe at home, and so my wife and I by coach home again.

28th. To church, and again in the afternoon, and then come home with us Sir W. Pen, and drank with us, and then went away, and my wife after him to see his daughter that is lately come out of Ireland. I staid at home at my book; she came back again and tells me that whereas I expected she should have been a great beauty, she is a very plain girl. This evening my wife gives me all my linen, which I have put up, and intend to keep it now in my own custody.

29th. This morning we began again to sit in the mornings at the office. So home to dinner, and my brother Tom dined with me, and after dinner he and I alone in my chamber had a great deal of talke, and I find that unless my father can forbear to make profit of his house in London and leave it to Tom, he has no mind to set up the trade any where else, and so I know not what to do with him. After this I went with him to my mother, and there told her how things do fall out short of our expectations, which I did (though it be true) to make her leave off her spending, which I find she is now-a-days very free in, building upon what is left to us by my uncle to bear her out in it, which troubles me much. While I was here word is brought that my aunt Fenner is

exceeding ill, and that my mother is sent for presently¹ to come to her: also that my cozen Charles Glassecocke, though very ill himself, is this day gone to the country to his brother, John Glassecocke, who is a-dying there.

30th. After my singing-master had done with me this morning, I went to White Hall and Westminster Hall, where I found the King expected to come and adjourne the Parliament. I found the two Houses at a great difference, about the Lords challenging their privileges not to have their houses searched, which makes them deny to pass the House of Commons' Bill for searching for pamphlets and seditious books. Thence by water to the Wardrobe (meeting the King upon the water going in his barge to adjourne the House) where I dined with my Lady, and there met Dr. Thomas Pepys, who I found to be a silly talking fellow, but very good-natured. So home to the office, where we met about the business of Tangier this afternoon. To Fleet Street to find when the Assizes begin at Cambridge and Huntingdon, in order to my going to meet with Roger Pepys for counsel. In Fleet Streete I met with Mr. Salisbury, who is now grown in less than two years' time so great a limner that he is become excellent, and gets a great deal of money at it. I took him to Hercules Pillars to drink.

31st. Singing-master came to me this morning; then to the office all the morning. In the afternoon I went to the Theatre, and there I saw "The Tamer Tamed" well done. And then home, and prepared to go to Walthamstow to-morrow. This night I was forced to borrow £40 of Sir W. Batten.

August 1st. This morning Sir Williams both, and my wife and I, and Mrs. Margaret Pen (this first

¹ Immediately. (M. B.)

time that I have seen her since she came from Ireland) went by coach to Walthamstow, a-gossiping to Mrs. Browne, where I did give her six silver spoons¹ for her boy. Here we had a venison pasty, brought hot from London, and were very merry.

2d. I made myself ready to get a-horseback for Cambridge. So I set out and rode to Ware, this night, in the way having much discourse with a fell-monger, a Quaker, who told me what a wicked man he had been all his life-time till within this two years. Here I lay, and

3rd. Got up early the next morning and got to Barkway, where I staid and drank, and there met with a letter-carrier of Cambridge, with whom I rode all the way to Cambridge, my horse being tired, and myself very wet with rayne. I went to the Castle Hill, where the Judges were at the Assizes; and I staid till Roger Pepys rose and went with him, and dined with his brother, the Doctor, and Claxton at Trinity Hall. Then parted, and I went to the Rose, and there with Mr. Pechell,² Sanchy, and others, sat

¹ But not the porringer of silver. See 29th May, 1661. (M. B.)

² John Peachell, Vicar of Stanwick and Prebendary of Carlisle, made Master of Magdalene College 1679, suspended from that office and deprived of the Vice-Chancellorship for refusing to admit Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of Master of Arts without his taking the oaths. He was restored by James the Second's letter to the Mastership, Oct. 1688, and died 1690.

A copy of Dr. Peachell's sentence as it was fixt on the publick School Doors and Magdalen College Gates :

"By His Majesties Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes and for the Visitation of the University and of every Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, Colledges, Grammar Schools, Hospitals and other the like Incorporations, or Foundations or Societies.

"Whereas John Peachell, D^r. of Divinity, Vice Chancellour of Cambridge, Master of Magdalen Colledge, in the said University, has been convey'd before us for his disobedience to his Majesties Royal Letters mandatory and other his contempts: and the said D^r. John Peachell having been fully heard thereupon, we have thought fit after mature consideration of the matter to declare,

and drank till night and were very merry, only they tell me how high the old doctors are in the University over those they found there, though a great deal better scholars than themselves; for which I am very sorry, and, above all, Dr. Gunning. At night I took horse, and rode with Roger Pepys and his two brothers to Impington, and there with great respect was led up by them to the best chamber in the house, and there slept.

4th (Lord's day). Got up, and by and by walked into the orchard with my cozen Roger, and there plucked some fruit, and then discoursed at large about my uncle's will, in which he did give me good satisfaction, but tells me I shall meet with a great deal of trouble in it. However, in all things he told

decree and pronounce that the said D^r. John Peachell, shall for the said disobedience and contempt, be deprived from being Vice Chancellour of the said University, and from all power of acting in the same: and also that he be suspended ab officio et beneficio of his Mastership of the said Colledge, during his Majesties pleasure: and accordingly we do by these presents deprive him the said D^r. John Peachell from being Vice Chancellour of the said University and from all power of acting in the same. And we also suspend him ab officio et beneficio of his Mastership of the said Colledge, peremptorily admonishing and requiring him hereby to abstain from the function of Master of the said Colledge, during the said suspension under pain of deprivation from his said Mastership. And we also further order and decree, that the profit and perquisites belonging to his said Mastership, shall during the same suspension be applyed to the use and benefit of the said Colledge.

"Given under our Seal, the 7th day of May 1687.

"Finis."

"I find in the first Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes on Bishop Burnett's History, that Dr. Peachell afterwards starved himself to death, Archbishop Sancroft having rebuked him for setting an ill example in the University by drunkenness and other loose behaviour. He did penance by four days' abstinence, after which he would have eaten but could not."—From the Master of Magdalene's "private" book. For his *red nose*, which made Pepys ashamed to be seen with him, see Diary, 3rd May, 1667. (M. B.)

me what I am to expect and what to do. To church, and had a good plain sermon. At our coming in the country-people all rose with so much reverence; and when the parson begins, he begins "Right worshipfull and dearly beloved" to us. Home to dinner, and then to church again, and, after supper, to talk about publique matters, wherein Roger Pepys told me how basely things have been carried in Parliament by the young men, that did labour to oppose all things that were moved by serious men. That they are the most prophane swearing fellows that ever he heard in his life, which makes him think that they will spoil all, and bring things into a warr again if they can.

5th. Early to Huntingdon, but was fain to stay a great while at Stanton because of the rayne, and there borrowed a coat of a man for 6*d.*, and so he rode all the way, poor man, without any. Staid at Huntingdon for a little, but the judges are not come hither: so I went to Brampton, and there found my father very well, and my aunt gone from the house, which I am glad of, though it costs us a great deal of money, viz., 10*l.* After dinner took horse and rode to Yelling, to my cozen Nightingale's, who hath a pretty house here, and did learn of her all she could tell me concerning my business.

6th. Up early and rode to Huntingdon, where I staid with Thos. Trice and Mr. Philips drinking till noone, and then home to my father, who could discern that I had been drinking, which he did never see or hear of before, so I eat a bit of dinner and then took horse for London, and with much ado, the ways being very bad, got to Baldwick,¹ and there lay and had a good supper by myself. The landlady being a pretty woman, but I durst not take notice of her, her husband being there. Before supper I went

¹ Baldock.

to see the church, which is a very handsome church, but I find that both here, and every where else that I come, the Quakers do still continue, and rather grow than lessen.

7th. Called up at three o'clock, and was a-horse-back by four; and as I was eating my breakfast I saw a man riding by that rode a little way upon the road with me last night; and he being going with venison in his pan-yards to London, I called him in and did give him his breakfast with me, and so we went together all the way. At Hatfield we bayted and walked into the great house through all the courts; and I would fain have stolen a pretty dog that followed me, but I could not, which troubled me. To horse again, and by degrees with much ado got to London, where I found all well at home and at my father's and my Lady's, but no newes yet from my Lord where he is.

8th. Early in the morning to Whitehall, but my Lord Privy Seale came not all the morning. To the Wardrobe to dinner. Back again to the Privy Seale; but my Lord comes not all the afternoon, which made me mad and gives all the world reason to talk of his delaying of businesse, as well as of his severity and ill using of the Clerkes of the Privy Seale. In the evening I took Mons. Eschar and Mr. Moore and Dr. Pierce's brother to the taverne next the Savoy. Here I met with Mr. Mage, and discoursing of musique Mons. Eschar spoke so much against the English and in praise of the French that made him mad, and so he went away.

9th. To the office, where I found Sir G. Carteret had a day or two ago invited some of the officers to dinner to-day at Deptford. So at noon, when I heard that he was a-coming, I went out, because I would see whether he would send to me or no to go with them; but he did not, which do a little trouble

me till I see how it comes to pass. I to White Hall, where, after four o'clock, comes my Lord Privy Seale,¹ and so we went up to his chamber over the gate at White Hall, where he asked me what deputacon I had from my Lord. I told him none; but that I am sworn my Lord's deputy by both of the Secretarys, which did satisfye him. So he caused Mr. Moore to read over all the bills, and all ended very well. So that I see the Lyon is not so fierce as he is painted.

10th. This morning came the mayde that my wife hath lately hired for a chamber mayde. She is very ugly, so that I cannot care for her, but otherwise she seems very good. I went to my Lady's and dined with her, and after dinner took the two young gentlemen and the two ladies and carried them and Captain Ferrers to the Theatre, and shewed them "The merry Devill of Edmunton," which is a very merry play, the first time I ever saw it, which pleased me well. And that being done I took them all home by coach to my house and there gave them fruit to eat and wine. So by water home with them, and so home myself.

11th (Lord's day). To our own church in the forenoon, and in the afternoon to Clerkenwell Church, only to see the two fayre Botelers; and I happened to be placed in the pew where they afterwards came to sit, but the pew by their coming being too full, I went out into the next, and there sat, and had my full view of them both, but I am out of conceit now with them, Colonel Dillon being come back from Ireland again, and do still court them, and comes to church with them, which makes me think they are not honest. Hence to Graye's-Inn walks, and there staid a good while; where I met with Ned Pickering,

¹ William, first Viscount, and second Baron Say and Sele, made Lord Privy Seal at the Restoration. Ob. April, 1662.

who told me what a great match of hunting of a stag the King had yesterday ; and how the King tired all their horses, and come home with not above two or three able to keep pace with him.

12th. At the office this morning. At home in the afternoon, and had notice that my Lord Hinchinbroke is fallen ill, which I fear is with the fruit that I did give them on Saturday last at my house : so in the evening I went thither and there found him very ill, and in great fear of the small-pox. I supped with my Lady and did consult about him, but we find it best to let him lie where he do ; and so I went home with my heart full of trouble for my Lord Hinchinbroke's sickness, and more for my Lord Sandwich's himself, whom we are now confirmed is sick ashore at Alicante, who, if he should miscarry, God knows in what condition would his family be. I dined to-day with my Lord Crew, who is now at Sir H. Wright's, while his new house is making fit for him, and he is much troubled also at these things.

13th. To the Privy Seale in the morning, then to the Wardrobe and found my young Lord very ill. So my Lady intends to send her other three sons, Sidney, Oliver, and John, to my house, for fear of the small-pox. After dinner I went to my father's, and Pall being there I spoke to my father about my intention not to keep her longer for such and such reasons, which troubled him and me also, and had like to have come to some high words between my mother and me, who is become a very simple woman. Home, and there found my Lady's three sons come, of which I am glad that I am in condition to do her and my Lord any service in this kind, but my mind is yet very much troubled about my Lord of Sandwich's health, which I am afraid of.

14th. This morning Sir W. Batten, and Sir W.

Pen and I, waited upon the Duke of York in his chamber, to give him an account of the condition of the Navy for lack of money, and how our own very bills are offered upon the Exchange, to be sold at 20 in the 100 loss. He is much troubled at it, and will speak to the King and Council of it this morning. So I went to my Lady's and dined with her, and found my Lord Hinchinbroke somewhat better. After dinner Captain Ferrers and I to the Theatre, and there saw "The Alchymist;" and there I saw Sir W. Pen, who took me when the play was done to the Dolphin, but not finding Sir W. Batten there, we went and carried a bottle of wine to his house, and there sat a while and talked, and so home to bed. At home I found a letter from Mr. Creed of the 15th of July last, that tells me that my Lord is rid of his pain (which was wind got into the muscles of his right side) and his feaver, and is now in hopes to go abroad in a day or two, which do give me mighty great comfort.

15th. To the Privy Seale and Whitehall, and at noon Sir W. Pen carried me to Paul's, and so I walked to the Wardrobe and dined with my Lady, and there told her of my Lord's sicknesse (of which though it hath been the town-talk this fortnight, she had heard nothing¹) and recovery, of which she was glad, though hardly persuaded of the latter. I found my Lord Hinchinbroke better and better, and the worst past. Thence to the Opera, which begins again to-day with "The Witts,"² never acted yet with scenes; and the King and Duke and Duchesse

¹ So of the Emperor Claudius:

"Dabitur morā parvula dum res
Nota urbi et populo contingat Principis aures.
Dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus."

JUV. *Sat.* x. 340. (M. B.)

² A Comedy, by Sir W. Davenant.

were there (who dined to-day with Sir H. Finch, reader at the Temple, in great state) ; and indeed it is a most excellent play, and admirable scenes. So home and was overtaken by Sir W. Pen in his coach. So I followed him to the Dolphin, where Sir W. Batten was, and there we sat awhile, and so home after we had made shift to fuddle Mr. Falconer of Woolwich.

16th. At the office all the morning, though little to do ; because all our clerkes are gone to the buriall of Tom Whitton, one of the Controller's clerkes, a very ingenious, and a likely young man to live, as any in the Office. But it is such a sickly time both in City and country every where (of a sort of fever), that never was heard of almost, unless it was in a plague-time. Among others, the famous Tom Fuller¹ is dead of it ; and Dr. Nichols,² Dean of Paul's ; and my Lord General Monk is very dangerously ill. Dined at home with the children and were merry. I understand my Aunt Fenner is upon the point of death.

17th. At the Privy Seale, where we had a seale this morning. Then met with Ned Pickering, and walked with him into St. James's Park (where I had not been a great while), and there found great and very noble alterations. And, in our discourse, he was very forward to complain and to speak loud of the lewdnesse and beggary of the Court, which I am sorry to hear, and which I am afeard will bring all to ruin again. I to the Opera, and saw "The Witts" again, which I like exceedingly. The Queene

¹ D. D., Author of the "Worthies of England," Chaplain to the King, and Prebendary of Salisbury.

² Matthew Nicholas, D.D., installed Dean of St. Paul's, July, 1660. Ob. August 14, 1661. He was brother to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State.

of Bohemia was here, brought by my Lord Craven.¹ So Captain Ferrers and I and another to the Devil taverne and drank, and so by coach home. Troubled in mind that I cannot bring myself to mind my business, but to be so much in love of plays. We have been at a great loss a great while for a vessel that I sent about a month ago with things of my Lord's to Lynn, and cannot till now hear of them, but now we are told that they are put into Seale Bay, but to what purpose I know not.

18th (Lord's day). To our own church in the morning and so home to dinner, where my father and Dr. Tom Pepys came to me to dine, and were very merry. After dinner I took my wife and Mr. Sidney to my Lady to see my Lord Hinchingbroke, who is now pretty well again, and sits up and walks about his chamber. So I went to White Hall, and there hear that my Lord General Monk continues very ill: so I went to la belle Pierce and sat with her; and then to walk in St. James's Park, and saw a great variety of fowle which I never saw before. At night fell to read in "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," which Mr. Moore did give me last Wednesday very handsomely bound; and which I shall read with great pains and love for his sake.

19th. I am sent for to the Privy Seale, and there I found a thing of my Lord Chancellor's to be sealed this afternoon, and so I am forced to go to Worcester House, where severall Lords are met in Council this afternoon. And while I am waiting there, in comes the King in a plain common riding-suit and velvet cap, in which he seemed a very ordinary man to one that had not known him. Here I staid till at last, hearing that my Lord Privy Seale had not the seale

¹ William, first Earl of Craven, a Privy Councillor, and Colonel of the Coldstream Guards; supposed to be married to the Queen of Bohemia. Ob. 1697, aged 88.

here, Mr. Moore and I hired a coach and went to Chelsy, and there at an alehouse sat and drank and past the time till my Lord Privy Seale came to his house, and so we to him and examined and sealed the thing, and so homewards, but when we came to look for our coach we found it gone, so we were fain to walk home afoot and saved our money. We met with a companion that walked with us, and coming among some trees near the Neate¹ houses, he began to whistle, which did give us some suspicion, but it proved that he that answered him was Mr. Marsh (the Lutenist) and his wife, and so we all walked to Westminster together, in our way drinking a while at my cost, and had a song of him, but his voice is quite lost. So walked home, and there I found that my Lady do keep the children at home, and lets them not come any more hither at present, which a little troubles me to lose their company. This day my aunt Fenner dyed.

20th. This day we come to some agreement with

¹ "The Neat Houses are a parcel of houses most seated on the banks of the river Thames and inhabited by gardeners, for which it is of note for the supplying London and Westminster markets with Asparagus, Artichoaks, Cauliflowers, Musk-melons, and the like useful things."—STRYPE, b. vi. p. 67.

Edward VI. granted the house called the Neate, and all the site, &c., situated in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, to Sir Anthony Browne. There are some houses still called the Neate Houses, situated near the water side, in that part of Chelsea which lies in the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, and was formerly part of St. Martin's.

"The xiiij of Maie 1621. To the iiij Bearers for bringing the drowned woman from the Thames neare the Neate house, iiij*d*."—Accounts of the Overseers of St. Martin's in the Fields. LYSON'S *Environs*, vol. ii. p. 181.

"We hear that Madam Ellen Gwyn's mother sitting lately by the water side at her house by the Neate Houses, near Chelsea, fell accidentally into the water and was drowned."—*Domestic Intelligencer*, August 5th, 1679. CUNNINGHAM, *Handbook of London*, vol. ii. p. 580. (M. B.)

Sir R. Ford for his house to be added to the office to enlarge our quarters.

21st. To Will. Joyce's and to an alehouse, and drank a good while together, he being very angry that his father Fenner will give him and his brother no more for mourning than their father did give him and my aunt at their mother's death, and a very troublesome fellow I still find him to be, that his company ever wearys me. I understand by Mr. Moore that my Lady Sandwich is brought to bed yesterday of a young Lady, and is very well. We went to Mrs. Terry, a daughter of Mr. Whately's, who lately offered a proposal of her sister for a wife for my brother Tom, and so to Mrs. Whately's, and there were well received, and she desirous to have the thing go forward, only is afraid that her daughter is too young and portion not big enough, but offers 200*l.* down with her. The girle is very well favoured, and a very child, but modest, and one I think will do very well for my brother: so parted till she hears from Hatfield from her husband, who is there; but I find them very desirous of it, and so am I. Hence home to my father's, and I to the Wardrobe, where I supped with the ladies, and hear their mother is well and the young child.

22nd. To the Privy Seale, and sealed; so home at noon, and there took my wife by coach to my uncle Fenner's, where there was both at his house and the Sessions, great deal of company, but poor entertainment, which I wonder at; and the house so hot, that my uncle Wight, my father and I were fain to go out, and stay at an alehouse awhile to cool ourselves. Then back again and to church, my father's family being all in mourning, doing him the greatest honour, the world believing that he did give us it: so to church, and staid out the sermon, and then with my aunt Wight, my wife, and Pall and I to

her house by coach, and there staid and supped upon a Westphalia ham, and so home and to bed.

23rd. This morning I went to my father's, and there found him and my mother in a discontent, which troubles me much, and indeed she is become very simple and unquiet. So to W. Joyce's, where by appointment my wife was, and I took her to the Opera, and shewed her "The Witts," which I had seen already twice, and was most highly pleased with it.

24th. At the office all the morning and did business; by and by we are called to Sir W. Batten's to see the strange creature that Captain Holmes hath brought with him from Guiny; it is a great baboon, but so much like a man in most things, that though they say there is a species of them, yet I cannot believe but that it is a monster got of a man and she-baboon. I do believe that it already understands much English, and I am of the mind it might be taught to speak or make signs. To the Opera, and there saw "Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke," done with scenes very well, but above all, Betterton did the Prince's part beyond imagination.

25th (Lord's day). At church in the morning, and dined at home with my wife very comfortably, and so again to church with her, and had a very good and pungent sermon of Mr. Mills, discoursing the necessity of restitution. Home, and I found my Lady Batten and her daughter to look something askew upon my wife, because my wife do not buckle to them, and is not solicitous for their acquaintance, which I am not troubled at at all. By and by comes in my father, who intends to go into the country tomorrow, and he and I among other discourse at last called Pall up to us, and there in great anger I told her before my father that I would keep her no longer, and my father he said he would have nothing to do

with her. At last, after we had brought down her high spirit, I got my father to yield that she should go into the country with my mother and him, and stay there awhile to see how she will demean herself. That being done, my father and I to my uncle Wight's, and there supped, and I home, my mind at some rest upon this making an end with Pall, who do trouble me exceedingly.

26th. This morning before I went out I made even with my mayde Jane, who has this day been my mayde three years, and is this day to go into the country to her mother. The poor girle cried, and I could hardly forbear weeping to think of her going, for though she be grown lazy and spoilt by Pall's coming, yet I shall never have one to please us better in all things, and so harmless, while I live. So I paid her her wages and gave her 2s. 6d. over, and bade her adieu, with my mind full of trouble at her going. Hence to my father, where he and I and Thomas together setting things even, and casting up my father's accounts, and upon the whole I find that all he hath in money of his owne due to him in the world is but 45*l.*, and he owes about the same summe: so that I cannot but think in what a condition he had left my mother if he should have died before my uncle Robert. Thence to the Theatre, and saw the "*Antipodes*," wherein there is much mirth, but no great matter else. Hence with Mr. Bostock to the Devil tavern, and there drank and so away. I to my uncle Fenner's, where my father was with him at an alehouse, and so we three went by ourselves and sat talking a great while about a broker's daughter that he do propose for a wife for Tom, with a great portion, but I fear it will not take, but he will do what he can. I found a letter from my Lord Sandwich, who is now very well again of his feaver, but not yet gone from Alicante, where he

lay sick, and was twice let blood. This letter dated the 22nd July last, which puts me out of doubt of his being ill.

27th. This morning to the Wardrobe, and there took leave of my Lord Hinchinbroke and his brother, and saw them go out by coach toward Rye in their way to France, whom God blesse. Then I was called up to my Lady's bedside, where we talked an houre about Mr. Edward Montagu's disposing of the 5000*l.* for my Lord's departure for Portugal, and our fears that he will not do it to my Lord's honour, and less to his profit, which I am to enquire a little after. Hence to the office, and there sat till noon, and then my wife and I by coach to my cozen, Thos. Pepys, the Executor, to dinner, where some ladies and my father and mother, where very merry, but methinks he makes but poor dinners for such guests, though there was a poor venison pasty. Hence my wife and I to the theatre, and there saw "The Joviall Crew,"¹ where the King, Duke and Duchesse, and Madame Palmer, were; and my wife, to her great content, had a full sight of them all the while. The play full of mirth. Hence to my father's. In my way and at home, my wife making a sad story to me of her brother Balty's condition, and would have me to do something for him, which I shall endeavour to do, but am afeard to meddle therein for fear I shall not be able to wipe my hands of him again, when I once concern myself for him.

28th. At home all the morning setting papers in order. This day I counterfeited a letter to Sir W. Pen, as from the thiefe that stole his tankard lately, only to abuse and laugh at him.

29th. At the office all the morning, and at noon my father, mother, and my aunt Bell come to dine

¹ Or the "Merry Beggars," a Comedy, by Richard Brome.

with me, and we were very merry. Mr. Evans, the taylor, whose daughter we have had a mind to get for a wife for Tom, told us that he hath not to except against us or our motion, but that the estate that God hath blessed him with is too great to give where there is nothing in present possession but a trade and house; and so we friendly ended.

30th. At noon my wife and I met at the Wardrobe, and there dined with the children, and after dinner up to my Lady's bedside, and talked and laughed a good while. Then my wife and I to Drury Lane to the French comedy, which was so ill done, and the scenes and company and every thing else so nasty and out of order and poor, that I was sick all the while in my mind to be there. Here my wife met with a son of my Lord Somersett, whom she knew in France, a pretty man; I showed him no great countenance, to avoyd further acquaintance. That done, there being nothing pleasant but the foolery of the farce, we went home.

31st. At home and the office all the morning, and at noon comes Luellin to me, and he and I to Bartholomew fair, and there upon his motion to a pitiful alehouse, and then I back again to the fair all alone, and there met with my Ladies Jemimah and Paulina, with Mr. Pickering and Mademoiselle, at seeing the monkeys dance, which was much to see, when they could be brought to do so, but it troubled me to sit among such nasty company. After that with them into Christ's Hospitall, and there Mr. Pickering bought them some fairings, and I did give every one of them a bauble, which was the little globes of glass with things hanging in them, which pleased the ladies very well. After that home with them in their coach, and there was called up to my Lady, and she would have me stay to talk with her, which I did I think a full houre. And the poor lady did with so much

innocency tell me how Mrs. Crispe had told her that she did intend, by means of a lady that lies at her house, to get the King to be godfather to the young lady that she is in childbed now of; but to see in what a manner my Lady told it me, protesting that she sweat in the very telling of it, was the greatest pleasure to me in the world to see the simplicity and harmlessness of a lady. Then down to supper with the ladies, and so home.

Thus ends the month. My mayde Jane newly gone, and Pall left now to do all the work till another mayde comes, which shall not be till she goes away into the country with my mother. Myself and wife in good health. My father gone to settle at Brampton, and myself under much business and trouble for to settle things in the estate to our content. But what is worst, I find myself lately too much given to seeing of plays, and expense, and pleasure, which makes me forget my business, which I must labour to amend. No money comes in, so that I have been forced to borrow a great deal for my own expenses, and to furnish my father, to leave things in order. I have some trouble about my brother Tom, who is now left to keep my father's trade, in which I have great fears that he will miscarry for want of brains and care. At Court things are in very ill condition, there being so much emulation, poverty, and the vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that I know not what will be the end of it, but confusion. And the Clergy so high, that all people that I meet with do protest against their practice. In short, I see no content or satisfaction any where, in any one sort of people. The Benevolence¹ proves so little, and an occasion of so much discontent every where, that it had better it had never been set up. I think

¹ A voluntary contribution made by the subjects to their Sovereign.

to subscribe 20*l*. We are at our Office quiet, only for lack of money all things go to rack. Our very bills offered to be sold upon the Exchange at 10 per cent. loss. We are upon getting Sir R. Ford's house added to our Office. But I see so many difficulties will follow in pleasing of one another in the dividing of it, and in becoming bound personally to pay the rent of 200*l*. per annum, that I do believe it will yet scarce come to pass. The season very sickly every where of strange and fatal fevers.

September 1st (Lord's day). Last night being very rainy [the rain] broke into my house, the gutter being stopped, and spoiled all my ceilings almost. At church in the morning. After dinner to Sir W. Batten's, where I found Sir W. Pen, and we were very merry with Sir W. Pen about the loss of his tankard, though all be but a cheate, and he do not yet understand it; but the tankard was stole by Sir W. Batten, and the letter, as from the thiefe, wrote by me, which makes very good sport. Captain Holmes and I by coach to White Hall; in our way, I found him by discourse, to be a great friend of my Lord's, and he told me there was many did seek to remove him; but they were old seamen, such as Sir J. Minnes¹ (but he would name no more, though he do believe Sir W. Batten is one of them that do envy him), but he says he knows that the King do so love him, and the Duke of York too, that there is no fear of him. He seems to be very well acquainted with the King's mind, and with all the several factions at Court, and spoke all with so much franknesse, that I do take him to be my Lord's good friend, and one able to do him great service, being a cunning fellow, and one (by his own confession to me) that can put on two several faces, and look his enemies in the face

¹ A Vice-Admiral, and afterwards Comptroller of the Navy.

with as much love as his friends. But, good God ! what an age is this, and what a world is this ! that a man cannot live without playing the knave and dissimulation.

2nd. To Westminster Hall with Captain Ferrers, where we met with Mr. Pickering, and so all of us to the Rhenish wine house, where the master of the house is laying out some money in making a cellar with an arch in his yard, which is very convenient for him, and so Mr. Pickering and I to Westminster Hall again, and there walked an houre or two talking, and though he be a fool, yet he keeps much company, and will tell all he sees or hears, and so a man may understand what the common talk of the town is, and I find by him that there are endeavours to get my Lord out of play at sea, which I believe Mr. Coventry and the Duke do think will make them more absolute ; but I hope, for all this, they will not be able to do it. He tells me plainly of the vices of the Court. From him by water to the bridge, and thence to the Mitre, where I met my uncle and aunt Wight, and so I staid with them, very merry, and so home, where my wife has been busy all day making of pies, and had been abroad and bought things for herself, and tells me that she met at the Change with my young ladies of the Wardrobe, and there helped them to buy things, and also with Mr. Somersett, who did give her a bracelet of rings, which did a little trouble me, though I know there is no hurt yet in it, but only for fear of further acquaintance. So to bed. This night I sent another letter to Sir W. Pen to offer him the return of his tankard upon his leaving of 30s. at a place where it should be brought. The issue of which I am to expect.

3rd. This day some of us Commissioners went down to Deptford to pay off some ships, but I could not go. Dined at home, and then with my wife to

the Wardrobe, where my Lady's child was christened (my Lord Crew and his Lady, and my Lady Montagu, my Lord's mother-in-law, were the witnesses), and named Katherine (the Queen elect's name); but to my and all our trouble, the Parson of the parish christened her, and did not sign the child with the sign of the cross. After that was done, we had a very fine banquet, the best I ever was at, and so we by and by broke up, and my wife and I to my mother, who I took a liberty to advise about her getting things ready to go this week into the country to my father, and she (being become now-a-days very simple) took it very ill, and we had a great deal of noise and wrangling about it. So home by coach.

4th. In the morning to the Privy Seale. Then my wife came to me to Whitehall, and we went and walked a good while in St. James's Parke to see the brave alterations, and so to Wilkinson's, the Cook's, to dinner, where we had oysters, the first I have eat this year, and were pretty good.

5th. To the Privy Seale this morning about business, in my way taking leave of my mother, who goes to Brampton to-day. But doing my business at the Privy Seale pretty soon, I took boat and went to my uncle Fenner's, and there I found my mother and my wife and Pall (of whom I had this morning at my own house taken leave, and given her 20s. and good counsel how to carry herself to my father and mother), and so I took them and put them into the waggon, and saw them going presently. To my uncle Fenner's to dinner, in the way meeting a French footman with feathers, who was in quest of my wife, and spoke with her privately, but I could not tell what it was, only my wife promised to go to some place to-morrow morning, which do trouble my mind how to know whither it was. My wife and I to the fayre, and I showed her the Italians dancing

the ropes, and the women that do strange tumbling tricks.

6th. This morning my uncle Fenner by appointment came and drank his morning draft with me, my wife holding her resolution to go this morning as she resolved yesterday, and though there could not be much hurt in it, yet my own jealousy put a hundred things into my mind, which did much trouble me all day. To dinner all alone, and thence my mind being for my wife's going abroad much troubled and unfit for business, I went to the Theatre, and saw "Elder Brother" ill acted; that done, meeting here with Sir G. Askew, Sir Theophilus Jones, and another Knight, with Sir W. Pen, we to the Ship taverne, and there staid and were merry till late at night, and so got a coach, and Sir Wm. and I home, where my wife had been long come home, but I seemed very angry, as indeed I am, and did not all night show her any countenance, and so slept and rose discontented.

7th. At the office all the morning. At noon Mr. Moore dined with me, and so I having appointed the young ladies at the Wardrobe to go with them to a play to-day, my wife and I took them to the theatre, where we seated ourselves close by the King, and Duke of York, and Madame Palmer, which was great content; and, indeed, I can never enough admire her beauty. And here was "Bartholomew Fayre,"¹ with the puppet-showe, acted to-day, which had not been these forty years (it being so satyricall against Puritanism, they durst not till now, which is strange they should already dare to do it, and the King do countenance it), but I do never a whit like it the better for the puppets, but rather the worse. Thence home with the ladies, it being by reason of our staying a great while for the King's coming, and

¹ A Comedy, by Ben Jonson; first acted in 1614.

the length of the play, near nine o'clock before it was done.

8th (Lord's day). To church, dined at home, and so to church again with my wife in the afternoon, and coming home again found our new mayde Doll asleep, that she could not hear to let us in, so that we were fain to send the boy in at a window to open the door to us. So up to my chamber all alone, and troubled in mind to think how much of late I have addicted myself to expense and pleasure, that now I can hardly reclaime myself. I pray God give me grace to begin now to look after my business, but it always was, and I fear will ever be, my foible that after I am once got behindhand with business, I am hard to set to it again to recover it. In the evening I begun to look over my accounts, and upon the whole I do find myself, by what I can yet see, worth near 600*l.*, for which God be blessed, which put me into great comfort. So to supper and to bed.

9th. To the Privy Seale in the morning, but my Lord did not come, so I went with Captain Morrice at his desire into the King's Privy Kitchen to Mr. Sayres, the Master Cooke, and there we had a good slice of beef or two to our breakfast, and from thence he took us into the wine cellar where, by my troth, we were very merry, and I drank so much wine that I was not fit for business, and therefore at noon I went and walked in Westminster Hall a while, and thence to Salisbury Court play house, where was acted the first time "'Tis pity Shee's a W—e," a simple play and ill acted, only it was my fortune to sit by a most pretty and most ingenious lady, which pleased me much. To the Dolphin to drink the 30*s.* that we got the other day of Sir W. Pen about his tankard. Here was Sir R. Slingsby, Holmes, Captn. Allen, Mr. Turner, his wife and daughter, my Lady Batten, and Mrs. Martha, &c., and an excellent

company of fiddlers ; so we exceeding merry till late ; and then we begun to tell Sir W. Pen the business, but he had been drinking to-day, and so is almost gone, that we could not make him understand it, which caused us more sport.

10th. At the office all the morn, dined at home, and so to the Wardrobe to see my Lady, and after supper with the young ladies, bought a linke and carried it myself till I met one that would light me home for the linke. So he light me home with his own, and then I did give him mine.

11th. To Dr. Williams, who did carry me into his garden, where he hath abundance of grapes ; and he did show me how a dog that he hath do kill all the cats that come thither to kill his pigeons, and do afterwards bury them ; and do it with so much care that they shall be quite covered ; that if but the tip of the tail hangs out he will take up the cat again, and dig the hole deeper. Which is very strange ; and he tells me that he do believe that he hath killed above 100 cats. Home to my house to dinner, where I found my wife's brother, Balty, as fine as hands could make him, and his servant, a Frenchman, to wait on him, and come to have my wife to visit a young lady which he is a servant to, and have hope to trepan and get for his wife. I did give way for my wife to go with him. Walking through Lincoln's Inn Fields observed at the Opera a new play, "Twelfth Night," was acted there, and the King there ; so I, against my own mind and resolution, could not forbear to go in, which did make the play seem a burthen to me, and I took no pleasure at all in it ; and so after it was done went home with my mind troubled for my going thither, after my swearing to my wife that I would never go to a play without her. So that what with this and things going so crosse to me as to matters of my

uncle's estate, makes me very much troubled in my mind, and so to bed. My wife was with her brother to see his mistress to-day, and says she is young, rich, and handsome, but not likely for him to get.

12th. To my Lady's to dinner at the Wardrobe; and in my way upon the Thames, I saw the King's new pleasure-boat that is come now for the King to take pleasure in above bridge; and also two Gundaloes¹ that are lately brought, which are very rich and fine. To Tom Trice; by and by in comes my uncle Thomas, and as he was always a close cunning fellow, so he carries himself to me, and says nothing of what his endeavours are, though to my trouble I know that he is about recovering of Gravely, but neither I nor he began any discourse of the business. From thence to Dr. Williams (at the little blind ale-house in Shoe Lane, at the Gridiron, a place I am ashamed to be seen to go into), and there with some bland counsel of his we discuss our matters, but I find men of so different minds that by my troth I know not what to trust to. It being late I took leave, and by linke home and called at Sir W. Batten's, and there hear that Sir W. Pen do take our jest of the tankard very ill, which I am sorry for.

13th. This morning I was sent for by my uncle Fenner to come and advise about the buriall of my aunt, the butcher, who died yesterday; and from thence to the Anchor, by Doctor's Commons, and there Dr. Williams and I did write a letter for my purpose to Mr. Sedgewicke, of Cambridge, about Gravely business, and after that I left him and went to the Wardrobe, where I found my wife, and thence she and I to the water to spend the afternoon in pleasure; and so we went to old George's,

¹ Gondolas. Davenant uses the expression, "Step into one of your peascod boats, whose tilts are not so sumptuous as the roofs of Gundaloes."

and there eat as much as we would of a hot shoulder of mutton, and so to boat again and home.

14th. At the office all the morning, at noon to the Change, and then home again. To dinner, where my uncle Fenner by appointment came and dined with me, thinking to go together to my aunt Kite's that is dead ; but before we had dined comes Sir R. Slingsby and his lady, and a great deal of company, to take my wife and I out by barge to shew them the King's and Duke's yachts, and we had great pleasure, seeing all four yachts, viz., these two and the two Dutch ones. And so home again, and after writing letters by post, to bed.

15th (Lord's day). To my aunt Kite's in the morning to help my uncle Fenner to put things in order against anon for the buriall, and at noon home again ; and after dinner to church, my wife and I, and after sermon with my wife to the buriall of my aunt Kite, where besides us and my uncle Fenner's family, there was none of any quality, but poor rascally people. So we went to church with the corps, and there had service read at the grave, and back again with Pegg Kite, who will be, I doubt, a troublesome carrion to us executors ; but if she will not be ruled, I shall fling up my executorship.

16th. This morning I was busy at home to take in my part of our freight of Coles, which Sir G. Carteret, Sir R. Slingsby, and myself sent for, which is 10 Chaldron, 8 of which I took in, and with the other to repay Sir W. Pen what I borrowed of him a little while ago. So that from this day I should see how long 10 chaldron of coals will serve my house, if it please the Lord to let me live to see them burned. Word was brought me from my brother's that there is a fellow come from my father out of the country, which I believed, but I afterwards found that it was a rogue that did use to play such

tricks to get money of people, but he got none of me. Home, and there found letters from my father informing me of the Court, and that I must come down and meet him at Impington, which I presently resolved to do, and

17th. The next morning got up, telling my wife of my journey, and she with a few words got me to hire her a horse to go along with me. So I went to my Lady's and elsewhere to take leave, and of Mr. Townsend did borrow a very fine side-saddle for my wife; and so after all things were ready, she and I took coach to the end of the towne towards Kingsland, and there got upon my horse and she upon her pretty mare that I hired for her, and she rides very well. By the mare at one time falling she got a fall, but no harm; so we got to Ware, and there supped, and to bed very merry and pleasant.

18th. The next morning up early and begun our march; the way about Puckridge very bad, and my wife, in the very last dirty place of all, got a fall, but no hurt, though some dirt. At last she begun, poor wretch, to be tired, and I to be angry at it, but I was to blame; for she is a very good companion as long as she is well. In the afternoon we got to Cambridge, where I left my wife at my cozen Angier's while I went to Christ's College, and there found my brother in his chamber, and talked with him; and so to the barber's, and then to my wife again, and remounted for Impington, where my uncle received me and my wife very kindly.

19th. Up early, and my father and I alone in the garden, and there talked about our business, and then we all horsed away to Cambridge, where my father and I, having left my wife at the Beare with my brother, went to Mr. Sedgewicke, the steward of Gravely, and there talked with him, but could get little hopes from anything that he would tell us; but

at last I did give him a fee, and then he was free to tell me what I asked, which was something, though not much comfort. From thence to our horses, and with my wife went and rode through Sturbridge fayre, but the fayre was almost done. So we did not light there at all, but went back to Cambridge, and there at the Beare had some herrings, we and my brother, and after dinner set out for Brampton, where we come in very good time.

20th. Will Stankes and I set out in the morning betimes for Gravely, where to an ale-house and drank, and then, going towards the Court House, met my uncle Thomas and his son Thomas, with Bradly, the rogue that had betrayed us, and one Young, a cunning fellow, who guides them. There passed no unkind words at all between us, but I seemed fair and went to drink with them. I said little till by and by that we come to the Court, which was a simple meeting of a company of country rogues, with the Steward, and two Fellows of Jesus College, that are lords of the towne where the jury were sworne; and I producing no surrender, though I told them I was sure there is and must be one somewhere, they found my uncle Thomas heire at law, as he is, and so my uncle was admitted, and his son also, in reversion. The uncle paid a year and a half for his fine, and the son half a year, in all 48 $\%$, besides about 3 $\%$ fees; so that I do believe the charges of his journeys, and what he gives those two rogues, and other expenses herein, cannot be less than 70 $\%$, which will be a sad thing for them if a surrender be found. After all was done, I openly wished them joy in it, and so rode to Offord with them and there parted fairly without any words. So with Stankes home and supped, and after telling my father how things went, I went to bed with my mind in good temper, because I see the matter and manner

of the Court and the bottom of my business, wherein I was before and should always have been ignorant.

21st. After dinner (there coming this morning my aunt Hanes and her son from London, that is to live with my father) I rode to Huntingdon, and so to Hinchingbroke, where Mr. Barnwell shewed me the condition of the house, which is yet very backward, and I fear will be very dark in the cloyster when it is done.

22nd (Lord's day). To church, where we had common prayer, and a dull sermon by one Mr. Case, who yet I heard sing very well. So to dinner, and busy with my father about his accounts.

23rd. Up, and sad to hear my father and mother wrangle as they used to do in London, of which I took notice to both, and told them that I should give over care for anything unless they would spend what they have with more love and quiet. So we took horse and got early to Baldwick,¹ where there was a fayre, and we put in and eat a mouthfull of porke, which they made us pay 14*d.* for, which vexed us much. And so away to Stevenage, and staid till a showre was over, and so rode easily to Welling, where we supped well, and had two beds in the room and so lay single, and still remember it that of all the nights that ever I slept in my life I never did pass a night with more epicurism of sleep; there being now and then a noise of people stirring that waked me, and then I was a little weary, that what between waking and then sleeping again, one after another, I never had so much content in all my life, and so my wife says it was with her.

24th. We rose, and set forth, but found a most sad alteration in the roade by reason of last night's rains, they being now all dirty and washy, though not deep. So we rode easily through, and only

¹ Baldock. (M. B.)

drinking at Holloway, at the sign of a woman with cakes in one hand and a pot of ale in the other, which did give good occasion of mirth, resembling her to the mayde that served us, we got home very timely and well, and finding there all well, and letters from sea, that speak of my Lord's being well, and his action, though not considerable of any side, at Argier.

25th. By coach with Sir W. Pen to Covent Garden. By the way, upon my desire, he told me that I need not fear any reflection upon my Lord for their ill successe at Argier, for more could not be done than was done. I went to my Cozen, Thos. Pepys, there, and talked with him a good while about our country business, and so we parted; and then meeting Sir R. Slingsby in St. Martin's Lane, he and I in his coach through the Mewes, which is the way that now all coaches are forced to go, because of a stop at Charing Cross, by reason of a drayne there to clear the streets. To my Lord Crew's and dined with him, where I was used with all imaginable kindness both from him and her. And I see that he is afraid that my Lord's reputacon will a little suffer in common talk by this late successe; but there is no help for it now. The Queene of England (as she is now owned and called) I hear doth keep open Court, and distinct at Lisbone. Hence, much against my nature and will, yet such is the power of the Devil over me I could not refuse it, to the Theatre, and saw "The Merry Wives of Windsor," ill done.

26th. At the office all the morning, so dined at home, and then abroad with my wife by coach to the Theatre to shew her "King and no King," it being very well done.

27th. At noon, met my wife at the Wardrobe; and there dined, where we found Captain Country

(my little Captain that I loved, who carried me to the Sound), come with some grapes and millions from my Lord at Lisbone. The first that ever I saw; but the grapes are rare things. In the afternoon comes Mr. Edwd. Montagu (by appointment this morning) to talk with my Lady and me about the provisions fit to be bought, and sent to my Lord along with him. And told us, that we need not trouble ourselves how to buy them, for the King would pay for all, and that he would take care to get them: which put my Lady and me into a great deal of ease of mind. Here we staid and supped too, and, after my wife had put up some of the grapes in a basket for to be sent to the King, we took coach and home, where we found a hampire of millions sent to me also.

28th. At the office in the morning, dined at home, and then Sir W. Pen and his daughter and I and my wife to the Theatre, and there saw "Father's owne Son," a very good play, and the first time I ever saw it, and so at night to my house, and there sat and talked and drank and merrily broke up, and to bed.

29th (Lord's day). To church in the morning, and so to dinner, and Sir W. Pen and daughter, and Mrs. Poole, his kinswoman, came by appointment to dinner with us, and a good dinner we had for them, and were very merry, and so to church again, and then to Sir W. Pen's and there supped, where his brother, a traveller, and one that speaks Spanish very well, and a merry man, supped with us, and what at dinner and supper I drink I know not how, of my own accord, so much wine, that I was even almost foxed, and my head aaked all night; so home and to bed, without prayers, which I never did yet, since I came to the house, of a Sunday night: I being now so out of order that I durst not read prayers, for fear of being perceived by my servants in what case I was.

30th. This morning up by moone-shine, at 5 o'clock, to White Hall, to meet Mr. Moore at the Privy Seale, and there I heard of a fray between the two Embassadors of Spaine¹ and France;² and that, this day, being the day of the entrance of an Embassador from Sweden, they intended to fight for the precedence. Our King, I heard, ordered that no Englishman should meddle in the business, but let them do what they would. And to that end all the soldiers in the towne were in arms all the day long, and some of the train-bands in the City; and a great bustle through the City all the day. Then we took coach (which was the business I come for) to Chelsy, to my Lord Privy Seale, and there got him to seal the business. Here I saw by day-light two very fine pictures in the gallery, that a little while ago I saw by night; and did also go all over the house, and found it to be the prettiest contrived house that ever I saw in my life. So back again; and at White Hall light, and saw the soldiers and people running up and down the streets. So I went to the Spanish Embassador's and the French, and there saw great preparations on both sides; but the French made the most noise and vaunted most, but the other made no stir almost at all; so that I was afraid the other would have had too great a conquest over them. Then to the Wardrobe, and dined there, and then abroad and in Cheapside hear that the Spanish hath got the best of it, and killed three of the French coach-horses and several men, and is gone through the City next to our King's coach; at which, it is

¹ The Baron de Vatteville.

² Godfrey, Count D'Estrades, Marshal of France, and Viceroy of America. He proved himself, upon many occasions, an able diplomatist, and particularly at the conferences of Nimeguen when acting as ambassador in 1673. Ob. 1686, æt. suæ 79. *Vide* his Letters to Louis XIV. in the Appendix.

strange to see how all the City did rejoice. And indeed we do naturally all love the Spanish, and hate the French. But I, as I am in all things curious, presently got to the water-side, and there took oares to Westminster Palace, thinking to have seen them come in thither with all the coaches, but they being come and returned, I ran after them with my boy after me through all the dirt and the streets full of people; till at last, at the Mewes, I saw the Spanish coach go, with fifty drawn swords at least to guard it, and our soldiers shouting for joy. And so I followed the coach, and then met it at York House,¹ where the ambassador lies; and there it went in with great state. So then I went to the French house, where I observe still, that there is no men in the world of a more insolent spirit where they do well, nor before they begin a matter, and more abject if they do miscarry, than these people are; for they all look like dead men, and not a word among them, but shake their heads. The truth is, the Spaniards were not only observed to fight most desperately, but also they did outwitt them; first in lining their own harnesse with chains of iron that they could not be cut, then in setting their coach in the most advantageous place, and to appoint men to guard every one of their horses, and others for to guard the coach, and others the coachmen. And, above all, in setting upon the French horses and killing them, for by that means the French were not able to stir. There were several men slain of the French, and one or two of the Spaniards, and one Englishman

¹ York House belonged to the See of York till James I.'s time, when Toby Matthews exchanged it with the Crown. Chancellors Egerton and Bacon resided there, after which it was granted to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Subsequently to the Restoration his son occupied the house some years, and disposing of the premises, they were converted into the streets still bearing his names, and the general appellation of York Buildings.

by a bullet. Which is very observable, the French were at least four to one in number, and had near 100 case of pistols among them, and the Spaniards had not one gun among them; which is for their honour for ever, and the others' disgrace. So, having been very much daubed with dirt, I got a coach, and home; where I vexed my wife in telling of her this story, and pleading for the Spaniards against the French. So ends this month; myself and family in good condition of health, but my head full of my Lord's and my own and the office business; where we are now very busy about sending forces to Tangier, and the fleet to my Lord of Sandwich, who is now at Lisbon to bring over the Queene, who do now keep a Court as Queene of England. The business of Argier hath of late troubled me, because my Lord hath not done what he went for, though he did as much as any man in the world could have done. The want of money puts all things, and above all, the Navy, out of order; and yet I do not see that the King takes care to bring in any money, but thinks of new designs to lay out money.

October 1st. This morning my wife and I lay long in bed, and among other things fell into talk of musique, and desired that I would let her learn to sing, which I did consider, and promised her she should. So before I rose, word was brought me that my singing master, Mr. Goodgroome, was come to teach me; and so she rose and this morning began to learn also. To the office, where busy all day.

2nd. All this morning at Pegg Kite's with my uncle Fenner, appraising her goods that her mother has left; but the slut is like to prove so troublesome that I am out of heart with troubling myself in her business. We went to the Theatre, but coming late, and sitting in an ill place, I never had so little

pleasure in a play in my life, yet it was the first time that I ever saw it, "Victoria Corombona." Methinks a very poor play.

3rd. Called at Sir W. Batten's, where his son and his wife were, who had yesterday been at the play where we were, and it was good sport to hear how she talked of it with admiration like a fool.

4th. By coach to White Hall with Sir W. Pen. So to Mr. Montagu, where his man, Mons. Eschar, makes a great complaint against the English, that they did help the Spaniards against the French the other day; and that their Ambassador do demand justice of our King, and that he do resolve to be gone for France the next week; which I, and all that I met with, are very glad of. I found my wife vexed at her people for grumbling to eat Suffolk cheese, which I also am vexed at.

5th. At the office all the morning, then dined at home, and so all the afternoon putting up my Lord's model of the Royal James, which I borrowed of him long ago to hang in my room. And at night Sir W. Pen and I alone to the Dolphin, and there eat some bloat-herrings and drank good sack.

6th (Lord's day). To church in the morning; Mr. Mills preached, who, I expect, should take in snuff¹ that my wife did not come to his child's christening the other day. The winter coming on, many of the parish ladies are come home and appear at church again; among others, the three sisters of the Thornbury's, very fine, and the most zealous people that ever I saw in my life, even to admiration, if it were true zeal. There was also my pretty black girle, Mrs. Dekins, and Mrs. Margaret

¹ *Snuff*, anger.

"Who therewith angry, when it next came there,
Took it in snuff."

SHAKESPEARE, 1 *Henry IV.* act i. sc. 3. (M. B.)

Pen, this day come to church in a new flowered satin suit that my wife helped to buy her the other day. So home to dinner, and to church in the afternoon to St. Gregory's, by Paul's, where I heard a good sermon of Dr. Buck's, one I never heard before, a very able man. So home, and in the evening I went to my Valentine, her father and mother being out of town, to fetch her to supper to my house, and then came Sir W. Pen and we were merry, and so broke up and to bed.

7th. About business all day, troubled in my mind till I can hear from Brampton, how things go on at Sturtlow, at the Court, which I was cleared in at night by a letter, which tells me that my cozen Tom was there to be admitted, in his father's name, as heire-at-law, but that he was opposed, and I was admitted by proxy, which put me out of great trouble of mind.

8th. After office done, went and eat some Colchester oysters with Sir W. Batten at his house, and there, with some company, dined and staid there talking all the afternoon; and late after dinner took Mrs. Martha out by coach, and carried her to the Theatre in a frolique, to my great expense, and there shewed her part of the "Beggar's Bush," without much pleasure, and so home again.

9th. This morning went out about my affairs, among others to put my Theorbo out to be mended, and then at noon home again, thinking to go with Sir Williams both to dinner by invitation to Sir W. Rider's, but at home I found Mrs. Pierce, la belle, and Madam Clifford, with whom I was forced to stay, and made them the most welcome I could; and I was (God knows) very well pleased with their beautiful company, and after dinner took them to the Theatre, and shewed them "The Chances;" and so saw them both at home and back to the Fleece

taverne, in Covent Garden, where Luellin and Blurton, and my old friend Frank Bagge, was to meet me, and there staid till late very merry. Frank Bagge tells me a story of Mrs. Pepys that lived with my Lady Harvy, Mr. Montagu's sister, a good woman; that she had been very ill, and often asked for me; that she is in good condition, and that nobody could get her to make her will; and that now she is well she desires to have a chamber at my house. Now I do not know whether this is a trick of Bagge's, or a good will of her's to do something for me; but I will not trust her, but told him I should be glad to see her, and that I would be sure to do all that I could to provide a place for her.

10th. At the office all the morning; dined at home, and after dinner Sir W. Pen and my wife and I to the Theatre, where the King came to-day, and there was "The Traytor" most admirably acted; and a most excellent play it is. So home, and intended to be merry, it being [the anniversary of] my sixth wedding; but by a late bruise I am in so much pain that I eat my supper and in pain to bed, yet my wife and I pretty merry.

11th. All day in bed.

12th. In bed the greatest part of this day also. I received a letter this day from my father, that Sir R. Bernard do a little fear that my uncle has not observed exactly the custom of Brampton in his will about his lands there, which puts me to a great trouble in mind.

13th (Lord's day). Did not stir out all day, but rose and dined below, and this day left off half skirts and put on a wastecoate, and my false taby wastecoate with gold lace; and in the evening there came Sir W. Batten to see me, and sat and supped very kindly with me, and so to prayers and to bed.

14th. This morning I ventured by water abroad

to Westminster. So to the Wardrobe, and there dined with my Lady. To Mr. Pim's, my Lord's taylour's, and there he went out with us to the Fountaine taverne, and it being the Duke of York's birthday, we drank the more to his health. Thence home by linke and found a good answer from my father that Sir R. Bernard do clear all things as to us and our title to Brampton, which puts my heart in great ease and quiet.

15th. At the office all the morning, and in the afternoon to Paul's Churchyard to a blind place, where Mrs. Goldsborough was to meet me to treat about the difference which remains between my uncle and her. But, Lord! to hear how she talks and how she rails against my uncle would make one mad. But I seemed not to be troubled at it.

16th. This morning came several mayds to my wife to be hired, and at last she pitched upon one Nell, whose mother, an old woman, came along with her, but would not be hired under half a year, which I am pleased at their drollnesse. This day dined by appointment with me, Dr. Thos. Pepys and my Coz: Snow, and my brother Tom, upon a fin of ling and some sounds, neither of which did I ever know before, but most excellent meat they are both, that in all my life I never eat the like fish.

17th. Captain Cock, a merchant I had not long known, took me to the Sun taverne and gave me a glass of sack, and being a man of great observation and repute, did tell me that he was confident that the Parliament, when it comes the next month to sit again, would bring trouble with it, and enquire how the King had disposed of offices and money, before they will raise more; which, I fear, will bring all things to ruin again. Thence to the Cook's and there dined with Captain Lambert and his father-in-law, and had much talk of Portugall; from whence

he is lately come, and he tells me it is a very poor dirty place ; I mean the City and Court of Lisbon ; that the King is a very rude and simple fellow ; and, for reviling of somebody a little while ago, had been killed, had he not told them that he was their king. That there are there no glass windows, nor will they have any ; which makes sport among our merchants there to talk of an English factor that, being newly come thither, writ into England that glasse would be a good commodity to send thither, &c. That the King has his meat sent up by a dozen of lazy guards and in pipkins, sometimes, to his own table ; and sometimes nothing but fruits, and, now and then, half a hen. And now that the Infanta is become our Queene, she is come to have a whole hen or goose to her table.

18th. To White Hall, to Mr. Montagu's, where I met with Mr. Pierce, the purser, to advise about the things to be sent to my Lord for the Queene's provision ; now there is all haste made, for the fleete's going. I met with complaints at home that my wife left no victuals for them all this day.

19th. At the office all the morning, and at noon Mr. Coventry, who sat with us all the morning, and Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen, and myself, by coach to Captain Marshe's, at Limehouse, to a house that hath been their ancestors' for this 250 years, close by the lime-house which gives the name to the place. Here they have a designe to get the King to hire a docke for the herring busses, which is now the great designe on foot, to lie up in. We had a very good and handsome dinner, and excellent wine. I not being neat in clothes, which I find a great fault in me, could not be so merry as otherwise, and at all times I am and can be, when I am in good habitt, which makes me remember my father Osborne's¹

¹ Osborne's "Advice to a Son." See January 27th, 1663-4.
(M. B.)

rule for a gentleman to spare in all things rather than in that.

20th (Lord's day). Much offended in mind at a proud trick my man Will hath got, to keep his hat on in the house, but I will not speak of it to him to-day ; but I fear I shall be troubled with his pride and laziness, though in other things he is good enough. To church in the afternoon, where a sleepy Presbyter preached, and then to Sir W. Batten, who is to go to Portsmouth to-morrow to wait upon the Duke of York, who goes to take possession and to set in order the garrison there.

21st. Early with Mr. Moore by coach to Chelsy, to my Lord Privy Seale's, but have missed of coming time enough ; and having taken up Mr. Pargiter, the goldsmith, who is the man of the world that I do most know and believe to be a cheating rogue, we drank our morning draft there together of cake and ale, and did make good sport of his losing so much by the King's coming in, he having bought much of Crowne lands, of which, God forgive me ! I am very glad. At Whitehall, at the Privy Seale, did with Sir W. Pen take advice about passing of things of his there that concern his matters of Ireland. Thence to the Wardrobe and dined, and so against my judgment and conscience (which God forgive, for my very heart knows that I offend God in breaking my vows herein) to the Opera, which is now newly begun to act again, after some alteration of their scene, which do make it very much worse ; but the play, "Love and Honour," being the first time of their acting it, is a very good plot, and well done.

22nd. At the office all the morning, where we had a deputation from the Duke in his absence, he being gone to Portsmouth, for us to have the whole disposal and ordering of the Fleet. In the afternoon about business up and down, and at night to visit

Sir R. Slingsby, who is fallen sick of this new disease, an ague and fever.

23rd. To Whitehall, and there, to drink our morning, Sir W. Pen and I to a friend's lodging, and at noon he and I dined together alone at the Legg in King Street, and so by coach to Chelsy to my Lord Privy Seale's, and so back to the Opera, and there I saw again "Love and Honour," and a very good play it is. This day all our office is invited against Tuesday next, my Lord Mayor's day, to dinner with him at Guildhall.

24th. At the office all morning, at noon Luellin dined with me. Went to see Sir R. Slingsby, who continues ill, and this day has not spoke at all, which makes them all afeard of him.

25th. To Whitehall, and so to dinner at the Wardrobe, where my wife met me, and there we met with a venison pasty, and my Lady was very merry and handsome, methought. After dinner my wife and I to the Opera, and there saw again "Love and Honour," a play so good that it has been acted but three times and I have seen them all, and all in this week; which is too much, and more than I will do again a good while. This day I did give my man Will a sound lesson about his forbearing to give us the respect due to a master and mistress.

26th. This morning Sir W. Pen and I should have gone out of town with my Lady Batten, to have met Sir William coming back from Portsmouth, at Kingston, but could not, by reason that my Lord of Peterborough¹ (who is to go Governor of Tangier²) came this morning, with Sir G. Carteret,

¹ Henry, second Earl of Peterborough, a Privy Councillor, and in 1685 made Groom of the Stole. He was also K.G., and died 1697.

² This place, so often mentioned by Mr. Pepys, was first given up to the English Fleet under Lord Sandwich, by the Portuguese,

to advise with us about completing of the affairs and preparacions for that place. So at the office all the morning, and in the afternoon Sir W. Pen, my wife and I to the Theatre, and there saw "The Country Captaine," the first time it hath been acted this twenty-five years, a play of my Lord Newcastle's, but so silly a play as in all my life I never saw, and the first that ever I was weary of in my life. News was brought that Sir R. Slingsby, our Comptroller (who hath this day been sick a week), is dead; which put me into so great a trouble of mind, that all the night I could not sleep, he being a man that loved me, and had many qualitys that made me to love him above all the officers and commissioners in the Navy.

27th (Lord's day). At church in the morning; where in pew both Sir Williams and I had much talk about the death of Sir Robert, which troubles me much; and them in appearance, though I do not believe it; because I know that he was a cheque to their engrossing the whole trade of the Navy-office. Home to dinner, and in the afternoon to church again, my wife with me, whose mourning is now grown so old that I am ashamed to go to church with her.

28th. At the office all the morning, and dined at home, and so to Paul's Churchyard to Hunt's, and Jan. 30, 1662; and Lord Peterborough left Governor, with a garrison. The greatest pains were afterwards taken to preserve the fortress, and a fine Mole was constructed, at a vast expense, to improve the harbour. At length, after immense sums of money had been wasted there, the House of Commons expressed a dislike to the management of the garrison (which they suspected to be a nursery for a Popish army), and seemed disinclined to maintain it any longer. The King, consequently, in 1683, sent Lord Dartmouth to bring home the troops, and destroy the works; which he performed most effectually, and Tangier fell into the hands of the Moors, its importance having ceased with the demolition of the Mole.

there found my Theorbo¹ done, which pleases me very well, and costs me 26s. to the altering. But now he tells me it is as good a lute as any is in England, and is worth well 10/. Hither I sent for Captain Ferrers to me, who comes with a friend of his, and they and I to the Theatre, and there saw "Argalus and Parthenia," where a woman acted Parthenia, and came afterwards on the stage in men's clothes, and had the best legs that ever I saw, and I was very well pleased with it. Thence to the Ringo alehouse, and thither sent for a belt-maker, and bought of him a handsome belt for second mourning, which cost me 24s., and is very neat.

29th. This day I put on my half cloth black stockings and my new coate of the fashion, which pleases me well, and with my beaver I was (after office was done) ready to go to my Lord Mayor's feast, as we are all invited; but the Sir Williams were both loth to go, because of the crowd, and so none of us went, and I staid and dined with them, and so home, and in the evening, by consent, we met at the Dolphin, where other company came to us, and should have been merry, but their wine was so naught, and all other things out of order, that we were not so, but staid long at night, and so home and to bed. My mind not pleased with the spending of this day, because I had proposed a great deal of pleasure to myself this day at Guildhall. This Lord Mayor,

¹ There is a humorous comparison of the long waists of ladies, which came into fashion about 1621, with the theorbo, by Bishop Corbet:

"She was barr'd up in whale-bones, that did leese
None of the whale's length, for they reached her knees;
Off with her head, and then she hath a middle
As her waste stands, just like the new found fiddle,
The favourite *Theorbo*, truth to tell ye,
Whose neck and throat are deeper than the belly."

CORBET, *Iter Boreale*. (M. B.)

it seems, brings up again the custom of Lord Mayors going the day of their installment to Paul's, and walking round about the Crosse, and offering something at the altar.

30th. All the morning at the office. At noon played on my Theorbo, and much pleased therewith; it is now altered with a new neck. In the afternoon Captain Lambert called me out by appointment, and we walked together to Deptford, and there in his ship, the Norwich, I got him to shew me every hole and corner of the ship, much to my information, and the purpose of my going. So home again, and at Sir W. Batten's heard how he had been already at Sir R. Slingsby's, as we were all invited, and I intended this night to go, and there he finds all things out of order, and no such thing done to-night, but pretending that the corps stinks, they will bury it to-night privately, and so will unbespeak all their guests, and there shall be no funerall, which I am sorry for, that there should be nothing done for the honour of Sir Robert, but I fear he hath left his family in great distraction. Sir Henry Vane, Lambert, and others, are lately sent suddenly away from the Tower, prisoners to Scilly; but I do not think there is any plot as is said, but only a pretence; as there was once pretended often against the Cavaliers.

31st. With my mind full of trouble, to my uncle Fenner's, when at the alehouse I found him drinking and very jolly and youthsom, and as one that I believe will in a little time get a wife.

November 1st. I went this morning with Sir W. Pen by coach to Westminster, and from thence with him to the 3 Tun Taverne, at Charing Cross, and there sent for up the maister of the house's dinner, and dined very well upon it, and so went away to the Theatre, to "The Joviall Crew," and from hence to my house, and were very merry till late, having

sent for his son, Mr. William Pen,¹ lately come from Oxford.

2d. At the office all the morning ; where Sir John Minnes, our new comptroller, was fetched by Sir Wm. Pen and myself from Sir Wm. Batten's, and led to his place in the office. The first time that he had come hither, and he seems a good fair condition man, and one that I am glad hath the office. After the office done, I to the Wardrobe, and there dined, and in the afternoon had an hour or two's talk with my Lady with great pleasure. This night my boy Wayneman, as I was in my chamber, I overheard him let off some gunpowder, and hearing my wife chide him below for it, and a noise made, I call him up, and find that it was powder that he had put in his pocket, and a match carelessly with it, thinking that it was out, and so the match did give fire to the powder, and had burnt his side and his hand that he put into his pocket to put out the fire. But upon examination, and finding him in a lie about the time and place that he bought it, I did extremely beat him, and though it did trouble me to do it, yet I thought it necessary to do it.

3rd (Lord's day). This day I stirred not out, but took physique, and all the day I did read in Fuller's Holy Warr, and did try to make a song in the praise of a liberall genius (as I take my own to be) to all studies and pleasures, but it not proving to my mind I did reject it. At night my wife and I had a good supper by ourselves of a pullet hashed, which pleased me much to see my condition come to allow ourselves a dish like that.

4th. In the morning by coach with Sir W. Pen to Whitehall, and then to the Mitre (Mr. Rawlinson's), where Mr. Pierce, the Purser, had got us a most

¹ The celebrated Quaker, and Founder of Pennsylvania.

brave chine of beef, and a dish of marrowbones. Then called my wife at my brother's, where I left her, and to the Opera, where we saw "The Bond-man," which of old we both did so doate on, and do still; though to both our thinking not so well acted here (having too great expectations), as formerly at Salisbury-court. But for Betterton¹ he is called by us both the best actor in the world.

5th. At the office all the morning. At noon comes my brother Tom and Armiger to dine with me, and then to the Dolphin, where Armiger and I and Captain Cocke sat late and drank much, seeing the boys in the streets flying their crackers, this day being kept all the day very strictly in the City. At last broke up, and called at my Lady Batten's, and would have gone to cards, but Sir W. Pen was so fuddled that we could not try him to play, and therefore we parted, and I home and to bed.

6th. Going forth this morning I met Mr. Davenport and a friend of his, and did give them their morning draft in good wine, and anchovies, and pickled oysters, and at noon being invited by a note from Luellin, I went and had a good dish or two of marrowbones and another of neats' tongues to dinner, and so I went home and sat late with pleasure at my lute, and so to bed.

7th. This morning came one Mr. Hill to teach me to play on the Theorbo, but I do not like his play nor singing, and so I found a way to put him off.

¹ Thomas Betterton, the celebrated actor, born in 1635, was the son of an under cook to Charles I., and first appeared on the stage at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, in 1659. After the Restoration, two distinct theatres were established by Royal Authority; one in Drury Lane, called the King's Company, under a patent granted to Killigrew: the other in Lincoln's Inn Fields, styled the Duke's Troop, the patentee of which was Sir W. Davenant, who engaged Mr. Betterton in 1662. Mr. B. died in 1710, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

So to the office. I met with letters at home from my Lord from Lisbone, which speak of his being well; and he tells me he had seen at the court there, the day before he wrote this letter, the Juego de Toro. Peg Kite now hath declared she will have the beggarly rogue the weaver, and so we are resolved neither to meddle nor make with her.

8th. This morning up early, and to my Lord Chancellor's with a letter to him from my Lord, and did speak with him; and he did ask me whether I was son to Mr. Talbot Pepys¹ or no (with whom he was once acquainted in the Court of Requests), and spoke to me with great respect. Thence to Westminster Hall (it being Terme time) and there met with Commissioner Pett, and so at noon he and I by appointment to the Sun in New Fish Street, where Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and we all were to dine, and by discourse I found Sir J. Minnes a fine gentleman and a very good scholler.

9th. At the office all the morning. After dinner I to the Wardrobe, and there staid talking with my Lady all the afternoon till late at night. Among other things my Lady did mightily urge me to lay out money upon my wife, which I perceived was a little more earnest than ordinary, and so I seemed to be pleased with it, and do resolve to bestow a lace upon her.

10th (Lord's day). At our own church in the morning, where Mr. Mills preached. In the afternoon went and sat with Mr. Turner in his pew at St. Gregory's, where I hear our Queene Katherine, the first time by name as such, publickly prayed for, and heard Dr. Buck upon "Woe unto thee, Corazin," &c., where he started a difficulty, which he left to another time to answer, about why God should give

¹ Of Impington, great uncle to our author.

means of grace to those people which he knew would not receive them, and deny to others which he himself confesses, if they had had them, would have received them, and they would have been effectual too. I would I could hear him explain this, when he do come to it.

11th. To the Wardrobe to dinner, and there by appointment met my wife, who had by my direction brought some laces for my Lady to choose one for her. After dinner Captain Ferrers and I went together, and he carried me the first time that ever I saw any gaming house, to one, entering into Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, at the end of Bell Yard, where strange the folly of men to lay and lose so much money, and very glad I was to see the manner of a gamester's life, which I see is very miserable, and poor, and unmanly. And thence he took me to a dancing schoole in Fleet Streete, where we saw a company of pretty girles dance, but I do not in myself like to have young girles exposed to so much vanity. So to the Wardrobe, where I found my Lady had agreed upon a lace for my wife of 6*l.*, which I seemed much glad of that it was no more, though in my mind I think it too much, and I pray God keep me so to order myself and my wife's expenses that no inconvenience in purse or honour follow this my prodigality. So by coach home.

12th. At the office all the morning. My wife and I to "Bartholomew Fayre," with puppets which I had seen once before, and the play without puppets often, but though I love the play as much as ever I did, yet I do not like the puppets at all, but think it to be a lessening to it. Thence to the Greyhound in Fleet Streete, and there drank some raspberry sack and eat some sasages, and so home very merry. This day Holmes come to town; and we do expect hourly to hear what usage he hath from the Duke and

the King about this late business of letting the Swedish Ambassador go by him without striking his flag.

13th. By appointment, we all went this morning to wait upon the Duke of York, which we did in his chamber, as he was dressing himself in his riding suit to go this day by sea to the Downes. He is in mourning for his wife's grandmother,¹ which is thought a great piece of fondness.² After we had given him our letter relating the bad condition of the Navy for want of money, he referred it to his coming back and so parted. Thence on foot to my Lord Crew's; here I was well received by my Lord and Sir Thomas; with whom I had great talk: and he tells me in good earnest that he do believe the Parliament (which comes to sit again the next week), will be troublesome to the Court and Clergy, which God forbid! But they see things carried so by my Lord Chancellor and some others, that get money themselves, that they will not endure it. From thence to the Theatre, and there saw "Father's own Son" again, and so it raining very hard I went home by

¹ Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon, was twice married. His first wife was the daughter of Sir George Ayliffe, of Foxley, in the county of Wilts. He married her in 1628, when he was only twenty years old, and she died of the small-pox six months afterwards, before any child was born. In 1632 he married Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas and Lady Ailesbury, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. Anne, the eldest daughter, became, as is well known, the wife of the Duke of York, and the mother of Queen Mary and Queen Anne. The whole story of her grandmother being a "tub-woman," or "beer-carrier," is altogether fabulous. See *Notes and Queries*, vol. vii. p. 211. (M. B.)

² Fondness, foolishness.

"He that is young thinketh the olde man *fond*; and the olde knoweth the young man to be a foole."—*Euph. and his Eng.* p. 9.

"*Fondness* it were for any, being free,
To covet fetters, tho' they golden be."

SPENS. *Sonnet*, 37. (M. B.)

coach, with my mind very heavy for this my expensfull life, which will undo me, I fear after all my hopes, if I do not take up, for now I am coming to lay out a great deal of money in clothes for my wife, I must forbear other expenses. To bed, and this night began to lie in the little green chamber, where the mayds lie, but we could not a great while get Nell to lie there, because I lie there and my wife, but at last, when she saw she must lie there or sit up, she, with much ado, came to bed.

14th. At the office all the morning. At noon to a dinner of young Mr. Bernard's for myself, Mr. Phillips, Davenport, Weaver, &c., where we had a most excellent dinner, but a pie of such pleasant variety of good things, as in all my life I never tasted. Hence to the Temple to Mr. Turner about drawing up my bill in Chancery against T. Trice, and so to Salisbury Court, where Mrs. Turner is come to towne, but very ill still of an ague.

15th. At home all the morning, and at noon with my wife to the Wardrobe to dinner, and there did shew herself to my Lady in the handkercher that she bought the lace for the other day, and indeed it is very handsome. So to my Lord Privy Seale, and then to the Opera, where I met my wife and Captain Ferrers and Mademoiselle Le Blanc, and there did see the second part of "The Siege of Rhodes" very well done; and so by coach set her home, and the coach driving down the hill through Thames Street, which I think never any coach did before from that place to the bridge-foot, but going up Fish Street Hill his horses were so tired, that they could not be got to go up the hill, though all the street boys and men did beat and whip them. At last I was fain to send my boy for a linke, and so 'light out of the coach till we got to another at the corner of Fenchurch Street, and so home.

17th (Lord's day). To our own church, and at noon, by invitation, Sir W. Pen dined with me, and I took Mrs. Hester, my Lady Batten's kinswoman, to dinner from church with me, and we were very merry. So to church again, and heard a simple fellow upon the praise of Church musique, and exclaiming against men's wearing their hats on in the church, but I slept part of the sermon, till latter prayer and blessing and all was done without waking, which I never did in my life.

18th. At St. Paul's, where I saw the quiristers in their surplices going to prayers, and a few idle poor people and boys to hear them, which is the first time I have seen them, and am sorry to see things done so out of order. Here I dined and had a good dinner. There was a young Parson at the table that had got himself drunk before dinner, which troubled me to see. After dinner for my wife, and brought her to the Theatre to see "Philaster," which I never saw before, but I found it far short of my expectations.

19th. At the office all the morning. Mr. Hunt dined with us, and after dinner took coach as far as my cozen Scott's, and my wife and I staid there at the christening of my cozen's boy, where my cozen Samuel Pepys, of Ireland, and I were godfathers, and I did name the child Samuel. There was a company of pretty women there in the chamber, but we staid not, but went with the minister into another room and eat and drank, my she-cozen, Stradwick, being godmother. It cost me 20s. between the mid-wife and the two nurses to-day.

20th. To Westminster Hall by water in the morning, where I saw the King going in his barge to the Parliament House; this being the first day of their meeting again. And the Bishops, I hear, do take their places in the Lords' House this day. I walked

longe in the Hall, but hear nothing of newes, but what Ned Pickering tells me, which I am troubled at, that Sir J. Minnes should send word to the King, that if he did not remove all my Lord Sandwich's captains out of this fleet, he believed the King would not be master of the fleet at its coming again : and so do endeavour to bring disgrace upon my Lord. But I hope all that will not do, for the King loves him. Hence by water to the Wardrobe, and dined with my Lady, my Lady Wright being there too, whom I find to be a witty but very conceited woman and proud. I home, and went seriously to look over my papers touching T. Trice, and I think I have found some that will go near to do me more good in this difference of ours than all I have before. So to bed with my mind cheery upon it, and lay long reading "Hobbs his Liberty and Necessity," and a little but very shrewd piece.

21st. Mr. Moore comes and dined with me, and we had a good surloyne of rost beefe, the first that ever I had of my own buying since I kept house ; after dinner went with Mr. Moore to Graye's Inn to his chamber, and there he shewed me his old Camden's "Britannica," which I intend to buy of him, and so took it away with me, and left it at St. Paul's Churchyard to be bound, and so home and to the office all the afternoon ; it being the first afternoon that we have sat, which we are now to do always, so long as the Parliament sits, who this day have voted the King 120,000*l*.¹ to be raised to pay his debts.

22nd. Within all the morning, and at noon with my wife, by appointment to dinner at the Dolphin, where Sir W. Batten, and his lady and daughter Matt, and Captain Cocke and his lady, a German lady, but a very great beauty, and we dined together, at

¹ A mistake. According to the journals, £1,200,000. And see Diary, 29th February, 1663-4. (M. B.)

the spending of some wagers won and lost between him and I; and there we had the best musique and very good songs, and were very merry and danced, but I was most of all taken with Madam Cocke and her little boy, which in mirth his father had given to me. But after all our mirth comes a reckoning of 4*l.*, besides 40*s.* to the musicians, which did trouble us, but it must be paid, and so I took leave and left them there about eight at night.

23rd. To Westminster with my wife, and thence to Cheapside to one Savill, a painter, who I intend shall do my picture and my wife's. Thence I to dinner at the Wardrobe, and so home to the office, and there all the afternoon till night. This day I have a chine of beef sent home, which I bespoke to send, and did send it as a present to my uncle Wight.

24th (Lord's day). Up early, and by appointment to St. Clement Danes to church, and there to meet Captain Cocke, who had often commended Mr. Alsopp, their minister, to me, who is indeed an able man, but as all things else did not come up to my expectations. His text was that all good and perfect gifts are from above. To the Wardrobe and there dined. Thence homewards, and meeting Mr. Yong, the upholster, he and I to the Mitre, and with Mr. Rawlinson sat and drank a quart of sack.

25th. To Westminster Hall in the morning with Captain Lambert, and there he did at the Dog give me and some other friends of his, his foy,¹ he being to set sail to-day toward the Streights. Here we had oysters and good wine. Having this morning met in the Hall with Mr. Sanchy, we appointed to meet at the play this afternoon. At noon, at the rising of the House, I met with Sir W. Pen and Major General

¹ *Foy*. See note, 20th March, 1660. (M. B.)

Massy, who I find by discourse to be a very ingenious man, and among other things a great master in the secresys of powder and fireworks, and another knight to dinner, at the Swan, in the Palace yard, and our meat brought from the Legg; and after dinner Sir W. Pen and I to the Theatre, and there saw "The Country Captain," a dull play, and that being done, I left him with his Torys¹ and went to the Opera, and saw the last act of "The Bondman," and there found Mr. Sanchy and Mrs. Mary Archer, sister to the fair Betty, whom I did admire at Cambridge, and thence took them to the Fleece in Covent Garden; but Mr. Sanchy could not by any argument get his lady to trust herself with him into the tavern, which he was much troubled at, and so we returned immediately into the city by coach, and then set her at her uncle's in the Old Jewry.

27th. This morning our mayde Dorothy and my wife parted, which though she be a wench for her tongue not to be borne with, yet I was loth to part with her, but I took my leave kindly of her and went out to Savill's, the painter, and there sat the first time for my face with him; thence to dinner with my Lady; and so after an hour or two's talk in divinity with my Lady, Captain Ferrers and Mr. Moore and I to the Theatre, and there saw "Hamlett" very well done.

28th. Letters from my Lord Sandwich, from

¹ *Torys*. "Whig and Tory. Whenever these terms were first introduced, and whatever might be their original meaning, it is certain in the reign of Charles II. they carried the political signification, which they have retained to our time." Thus in Dryden's Epilogue to the Duke of Guise, 1682 :

" ' Damned neuters, in their middle way of steering,
Are neither fish nor flesh, nor good red herring;
Not Whigs nor Tories they,' &c."

TIMBS, *Things not Generally Known*. (M. B.)

Tangier; where he continues still, and hath done some execution upon the Turks, and retaken an Englishman from them, of one Mr. Parker's, a merchant in Marke-lane. To the Chancellor's, and there met with Mr. Dugdale, and with him and one Mr. Simons, I think that belongs to my Lord Hatton, and Mr. Kipps and others, to the Fountaine taverne. When I came home I found our new mayde Sarah, who is a tall and a very well favoured wench, and one that I think will please us.

29th. I lay long in bed, till Sir Williams both sent me word that we were to wait upon the Duke of York to-day; and that they would have me to meet them at Westminster Hall, at noon: so I rose and went thither; and there I understand that they are gone to Mr. Coventry's lodgings, in the Old Palace Yard, to dinner (the first time I knew he had any); and there I met them two and Sir G. Carteret, and had a very fine dinner, and good welcome, and discourse; and so, by water, after dinner to White Hall to the Duke, who met us in his closet; and there he did discourse to us the business of Holmes, and did desire of us to know what hath been the common practice about making of forrayne ships to strike sail to us, which they did all do as much as they could; but I could say nothing to it, which I was sorry for. So indeed I was forced to study a lie, and so after we were gone from the Duke, I told Mr. Coventry that I had heard Mr. Selden often say, that he could prove that in Henry the 7th's time, he did give commission to his captains to make the King of Denmark's ships to strike to him in the Baltique. From thence Sir W. Pen and I to the Theatre, but it was so full that we could hardly get any room, so he went up to one of the boxes, and I into the 18*d*. places, and there saw "Love at first sight," a play of Mr. Killigrew's, and the first time that it hath been acted

since before the troubles, and great expectation there was, but I found the play to be a poor thing, and so I perceive every body else do. So home, calling at Paul's Churchyard for a "*Mare Clausum*,"¹ having it in my mind to write a little matter, what I can gather, about the business of striking sayle, and present it to the Duke, which I now think will be a good way to make myself known.

30th. In the morning to the Temple, and so to the Wardrobe to dinner. The Parliament has sat a pretty while. The old condemned judges of the late King have been brought before the Parliament, and like to be hanged. I am deep in Chancery against Tom Trice, God give a good issue; and myself under great trouble for my late great expending of money vainly, which God stop for the future. This is the last day for the old State's coyne to pass in common payments, but they say it is to pass in publique payments to the King three months still.

December 1st (Lord's day). In the morning at church and heard Mr. Mills. At noon dined and with me by appointment Mr. Sanchy, who should have brought his mistress, Mrs. Mary Archer, of Cambridge, but she could not come, but we had a good dinner for him. We this day cut a brave collar of brawne from Winchcombe which proves very good, and also opened the glass of girkins which Captain Cocke did give my wife the other day, which are rare things. There hath lately been great clapping up of some old statesmen, such as Ireton, Moyer,² and others, and they say, upon a great plot, but I believe no such thing; but it is but justice that they should be served as they served the poor Cavaliers; and I believe it will oftentimes be so as long as I live, whether there be cause or no.

¹ By Selden. (M. B.)

² Samuel Moyer, one of the Council of State, 1653.

2nd. Called on by Mr. Sanchy and his mistress, and with them by coach to the Opera, to see "The Mad Lover," but not much pleased with the play. That done home all to my house, where they staid and supped and were merry, and at last late bid good night, and so we to bed.

3rd. To the Paynter's and sat and had more of my picture done ; but it do not please me, for I fear it will not be like me. At noon thence to the Wardrobe, where my Lady Wright was at dinner, and all our talk about the great happiness that my Lady Wright says there is in being in the fashion and in variety of fashions, in scorn of others that are not so, as citizens' wives and country gentlewomen, which though it did displease me enough, yet I said nothing to it. Thence by water to the office through bridge, being carried by him in oares that the other day rowed in a scull faster than my oares to the Towre, and I did give him 6*d*. At the office all the afternoon, and at night home to read in "Mare Clausum" till bed-time.

4th. To Whitehall with both Sir Williams, thence by water, where I saw a man lie dead upon Westminster Stairs that had been drowned yesterday, to the Temple.

5th. This morning I went early to the Paynter's and there sat for my picture the fourth time, but it do not yet please me, which do much trouble me. Thence to the Treasury office, and there we sat to pay off the St. George. By and by came Sir W. Pen, and he and I went and dined at my house, and had two mince pies sent thither by our order from the messenger Slater, that had dressed some victuals for us, and so we were very merry.

6th. To White Hall, where, at Sir G. Carteret's, Sir Williams both and I dined very pleasantly ; and after dinner, by appointment, came the Governors of

the East India Company, to sign and seal the contract between us (in the King's name) and them. And that done, we all went to the King's closet, and there spoke with the King and the Duke of York, who promise to be very careful of the India trade to the utmost.

7th. This morning comes Captain Ferrers and the German, Emanuel Luffe, who goes as one of my Lord's footmen, though he deserves a much better preferment, to take their leave of me, and here I got the German to play upon my theorbo. He plays bravely. I did give them a mince pie and a collar of brawn and some wine for their breakfast, and were very merry. At last we all parted, but within a quarter of an hour after they were gone, and my wife and I were talking about buying of a fine scallop which is brought her this morning by a woman to be sold, which is to cost her 45s., in comes the German back again, all in a goare of blood, which I wondered at, and tells me that he is afeard that the Captain is killed by the watermen at Towre Stayres; so I presently¹ went thither, and found that upon some rude pressing of the watermen to ply the Captain, he struck one of them with his cane, which they would not take, but struck him again, and then the German drew his sword and ran at one of them, but they were both soundly beaten. The Captain is, however, got to the hoy that carries him and the pages to the Downes, and I went into the alehouse at the Stayres and got them to deliver the Captain's feathers, which one from the Captain was come to demand, and went home again, and there found my wife dressing of the German's head, and so did [give] him a cravett for his neck, and a crowne in his purse, and sent him away again. To Whitehall, and eat a bit of meat at

¹ Immediately. (M. B.)

Wilkinson's, and then to the Privy Seale, and sealed there; and, among other things that passed, there was a patent for Roger Palmer (Madam Palmer's husband) to be Earle of Castlemaine¹ and Baron of Limbricke in Ireland; but the honour is tied up to the males got of the body of this wife, the Lady Barbary: the reason whereof every body knows. That done, by water to the office, where I found Sir W. Pen, and with him Captain Holmes, who had wrote his case, and gives me a copy, as he hath many among his friends, and presented the same to the King and Council. Which I shall make use of in my attempt of writing something concerning the business of striking sail, which I am now about. But he do cry out against Sir John Minnes, as the veriest knave and rogue and coward in the world.

8th (Lord's day). To dinner at the Wardrobe, and after a great deal of good discourse with my Lady, among other things of the great christening yesterday at Mr. Rumbell's, and courtiers and pomp that was there, which I wonder at, I went away up and down into all the churches almost between that place and my house, and so home.

9th. At noon to dinner at the Wardrobe; where my Lady Wright was, who did talk much upon the worth and the desert of gallantry; and that there was none fit to be courtiers, but such as have been abroad and know fashions. Which I endeavoured to oppose; and was troubled to hear her talk so, though she be a very wise and discreet lady in other things. From thence Mr. Moore and I to the Temple about my law business with my cozen Turner, and there we read over T. Trice's answer to my bill and advised thereupon. So by coach home, and to supper, and to bed, having staid up till 12 at night writing letters to my Lord Sandwich and all my friends

¹ Ob. July, 1705.

with him at sea, to send to-morrow by Mons. Eschar.

10th. To Whitehall, so to dinner to my Lord Crew's by coach, and in my way had a stop of above an houre and a half, which is a great trouble this Parliament time, but it cannot be helped. However I got thither before my Lord come from the House, and so dined with him.

11th. I went out, and in my way met with Mr. Howell the Turner, who invited me to dine this day at Mr. Rawlinson's with some friends of his, officers of the Towre, at a venison pasty, which I promised him, and so I went to the Old Bayly, and there staid and drank with him, who told me the whole story how Pegg Kite has married herself to a weaver, an ugly fellow, to her undoing. From thence home and put on my velvet coat, and so to the Mitre to dinner, but going up into the room I found at least 12 or more persons, and knew not the face of any of them, so I went down again and walked to the Exchequer, and up and down, and was very hungry, and from thence home, and my wife was gone out by coach to Clerkenwell, to see Mrs. Margaret Pen, who is at schoole there. So I went to see Sir W. Pen, and he and I after some talk took a coach and went to Moorfields, and there into an alehouse and I drank some ale and eat some bread and cheese, and so being very merry we went home again.

12th. To the Wardrobe and dined with my Lady, where her brother, Mr. John Crew, dined also, and a strange gentlewoman dined at the table as a servant of my Lady's ; but I knew her not, and so I am afeard that poor Madamoiselle was gone, but I since understand that she is come as housekeeper to my Lady, and is a married woman.

13th. Dined at home and then with my wife to the Paynter's, and there she sat the first time to be

drawn, while I all the while stood looking on a pretty lady's picture, whose face did please me extremely. At last, he having done, I found that the dead colour of my wife is good, above what I expected, which pleased me exceedingly. So home and to the office about some special business, where Sir Williams both.

15th (Lord's day). To church in the morning, where our young Reader begun the first day to read. Sir W. Pen dined with me and we were merry. Again to church and so home, and all alone read till bedtime, and so to prayers and to bed. I have been troubled this day about a difference between my wife and her mayde Nell, who is a simple slut, and I am afraid we shall find her a cross-grained wench. I am now full of study about writing something about our making of strangers strike to us at sea ; and so am altogether reading Selden and Grotius, and such other authors to that purpose.

16th. Up by five o'clock this morning by candle-light, and so by coach to Chelsy to my Lord Privy Seale, and so back to Westminster Hall, and thence to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, where I met my wife, and got a joint of meat thither from the Cook's, and after dinner to the Opera, where there was a new play ("Cutter of Coleman Street"), made in the year 1658, with reflections much upon the late times ; and it being the first time the pay was doubled, and so to save money, my wife and I went up into the gallery, and there sat and saw very well ; and a very good play it is. It seems of Cowly's making.

17th. Up and to the Paynter's to see how he went forward in our picture. So back again to dinner at home, and then was sent for to the Privy Seale, whither I was forced to go and stay so long and late that I was much vexed. At last we got all done, and then made haste to the office, where they

were sat, and there we sat late, and so home to supper and to Selden, "Mare Clausum," and so to bed.

18th. At the office upon business extraordinary all the morning, then to my Lady Sandwich's to dinner, and then to see Mrs. Turner, who begins to be better, and so back to my Ladies, where much made of, and so home to my study till bed-time.

19th. This morning my wife and I to the Paynter's, and there she sat till noon, I all the while looking over a variety of prints. After the Paynter had done I did like the picture pretty well, and my wife and I went home by coach, but in the way I took occasion to fall out with my wife very highly about her ribbands being ill matched and of two colours, and to very high words, so that, like a passionate fool, I did call her a bad name, for which I was afterwards sorry. Then I to the Dolphin, where Sir W. Warren did give us all a good dinner, and that being done, to the office, and there sat late, and so home.

20th. To the Wardrobe to dinner, and then met with Mr. Swan (my old acquaintance), and we to a tavern, where we had enough of his old simple religious talk, and he is still a coxcomb in these things as he ever was, and tells me he is setting out a book called the unlawfull use of lawfull things; but a very simple fellow he is, and so I leave him.

21st. To White Hall to the Privy Seale, where my Lord Privy Seale did tell us he could seale no more this month, for that he goes thirty miles out of towne to keep his Christmas. At which I was glad, but only afeard lest any thing of the King's should force us to go after him to get a seale in the country. Taken by some Exchequer men to the Dogg, where, being St. Thomas's day, by custome they have a general meeting at dinner. There I was and all

very merry, and there I spoke to Mr. Falconberge to look whether he could out of Domesday Book, give me any thing concerning the sea, and the dominion thereof; which he says he will look after. So by coach home to the office, where I was vexed to see Sir Williams both seem to think so much that I should be a little out of the way, saying that without their Register they were not a Committee, which I took in some dudgeon, and see clearly that I must keep myself at a little distance with them and not crouch, or else I shall never keep myself up even with them.

22nd. To church in the morning, where the Reader made a boyish young sermon. Home to dinner, and there I took occasion, from the blacknesse of the meat as it came out of the pot, to fall out with my wife and my mayde for their sluttery, and went up to read in Mr. Selden till church time, and then my wife and I to church, and there in the pew, with the rest of the company, was Captain Holmes, in his gold-laced suit, at which I was troubled.

23rd. Early up and by coach (before daylight) to the Wardrobe, and so to Chelsy to my Lord Privy Seale, and there sealed some things. So back again to Westminster, and from thence by water to the Treasury Office, where I found Sir W. Pen paying off the Sophia and Griffen, and there I staid with him till noon, and having sent for some collar of beef and a mince pie, we eat and drank, and so I left him and took coach, and lighting at my bookseller's in Paul's Churchyard, I met with Mr. Crumlum and the second master of Paul's School, and thence I took them to the Starr, and there we sat and talked, and I had great pleasure in their company, and very glad I was of meeting him so accidentally, I having omitted too long to go to see him. Here in discourse of

books I did offer to give the schoole what books he would choose of 5*l*. So we parted.

25th. In the morning to church, where at the door of our pew I was fain to stay, because that the sexton had not opened the door. A good sermon of Mr. Mills. Dined at home all alone, and taking occasion from some fault in the meat to complain of my mayd's sluttery, my wife and I fell out, and I up to my chamber in a discontent. After dinner my wife comes up to me and all friends again, and she and I to walk upon the leads, and there Sir W. Pen called us, and we went to his house and supped with him.

26th. This morning Sir W. Pen and I to the Treasury office, and there we paid off the Amity and another ship, and so home, and after dinner Sir William came to me, and he and his son and daughter, and I and my wife, by coach to Moorfields to walk; but it was most foule weather, and so we went into an alehouse and there eat some cakes and ale, and a washeall-bowle¹ woman and girle came to us and sung to us. And after all was done I called my boy (Wayneman) to us to eat some cake that was left, and the woman of the house told us that he had called for two cakes and a pot of ale for himself, at which I was angry, and am resolved to correct him for it. So home, and Sir W. Pen and his son and daughter to supper to me to a good turkey, and were merry at cards, and so to bed.

27th. In the morning to my Bookseller's to bespeak a Stephens' Thesaurus, for which I offer 4*l*., to give to Paul's School, and from thence to Paul's

¹ Wassel or wassail, from two Saxon words, meaning "be in health," or "water of health," which was the form of drinking a health.

"The king doth wake to-night, and takes his rouse.
Keeps *wassel*."

SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, act i. sc. 4. (M. B.)

Church ; and there I heard Dr. Gunning preach a good sermon upon the day (being St. John's day), and did hear him tell a story, which he did persuade us to believe to be true, that St. John and the Virgin Mary did appear to Gregory, a Bishopp, at his prayer to be confirmed in the faith, which I did wonder to hear from him.

28th. At home all the morning ; and in the afternoon all of us at the office, upon a letter from the Duke for the making up of a speedy estimate of all the debts of the Navy, which is put into good forwardness. I home and Sir W. Pen to my house, who with his children staid playing cards late, and so to bed.

29th (Lord's day). To the Abbey, and there meeting with Mr. Hooper, he took me in among the quire, and there I staid with them their service. So to the Wardrobe and supped, and staid very long talking with my Lady, who seems to doat every day more and more upon us.

30th. With my wife and Sir W. Pen to see our pictures, which do not much displease us, and so back again, and I staid at the Mitre, whither I had invited all my old acquaintance of the Exchequer to a good chine of beef, which with three barrels of oysters and three pullets, and plenty of wine and mirth, was our dinner, and there was about twelve of us, and here I made a foolish promise to give them one this day twelvemonth, and so for ever while I live, but I do not intend it. So home to Sir W. Pen, who with his children and my wife has been at a play to-day and saw "D'Ambois," which I never saw. Here we staid late at supper and playing at cards, and so home and to bed.

31st. My wife and I this morning to the Paynter's, and there she sat the last time, and I stood by and did tell him some little things to do, that now her picture I think will please me very well ; and after

her, her little black dogg sat in her lap, and was drawn, which made us very merry; so home to dinner. To the office; and there late finishing our estimate of the debts of the Navy to this day; and it come to near 374,000*l*. So home, and after supper, and my barber had trimmed me, I sat down to end my journell for this year, and my condition at this time, by God's blessing, is thus: my health is very good, and so my wife's in all respects: my servants, W. Hewer, Sarah, Nell, and Wayneman: my house at the Navy Office. I suppose myself to be worth about 500*l*. clear in the world, and my goods of my house my owne, and what is coming to me from Brampton, when my father dies, which God defer. But, by my uncle's death, the whole care and trouble of all, and settling of all lies upon me, which is very great, because of law-suits, especially that with T. Trice, about the interest of 200*l*., which will, I hope, be ended soon. My chiefest thought is now to get a good wife for Tom, there being one offered by the Joyces, a cozen of theirs, worth 200*l*. in ready money. I am also upon writing a little treatise to present to the Duke, about our privilege in the seas, as to other nations striking their flags to us. But my greatest trouble is, that I have for this last half year been a very great spendthrift in all manner of respects, that I am afeard to cast up my accounts, though I hope I am worth what I say above. But I will cast them up very shortly. I have newly taken a solemn oath about abstaining from plays and wine, which I am resolved to keep according to the letter of the oath which I keep by me. The fleet hath been ready to sail for Portugall, but hath lacked wind this fortnight, and by that means my Lord is forced to keep at sea all this winter, till he brings home the Queene, which is the expectation of all now, and the greatest matter of publike talk.

January 1st. Waking this morning out of my sleep on a sudden, I did with my elbow hit my wife a great blow over her face and nose, which waked her with pain, at which I was sorry, and to sleep again. Up and went forth with Sir W. Pen by coach towards Westminster, and in my way seeing that the "Spanish Curate" was acted to-day, I light and let him go alone, and I home again and sent to young Mr. Pen¹ and his sister to go anon with my wife and I to the Theatre. That done, Mr. W. Pen came to me and he and I walked out, and to the Stacioner's, and looked over some pictures and maps for my house, and so home again to dinner, and by and by came the two young Pens, and after we had eat a barrel of oysters we went by coach to the play, and there saw it well acted, and a good play it is, only Diego the Sexton did overdo his part too much. From thence home, and they sat with us till late at night at cards very merry, but the jest was Mr. W. Pen had left his sword in the coach, and so my boy and he run out after the coach, and by very great chance did at the Exchange meet with the coach and got his sword again. So to bed.

2nd. An invitation sent us before we were upp from my Lady Sandwich's, to come and dine with her: so at the office all the morning, and at noon thither to dinner, where there was a good and great dinner, and the company, Mr. William Montagu and his Lady, but she seemed so far from the beauty that I expected her from my Lady's talk to be, that it put me into an ill humour all the day, to find my expectation so lost. I went forth, by appointment, to meet with Mr. Grant, who promised to bring me acquainted with Cooper,² the great limner in little, but they deceived me, and so I went home, and there

¹ The well-known Quaker. (M. B.)

² Samuel Cooper, the celebrated miniature painter. Ob. 1672.

sat at my lute and singing till almost twelve at night, and so to bed. Sir Richd. Fanshaw is come suddenly from Portugall, but nobody knows what his business is.

3rd. To Faithorne's,¹ and there bought some pictures of him; and while I was there, comes by the King's life-guard, he being gone to Lincoln's Inne this afternoon to see the Revells there; there being, according to an old custome, a prince and all his nobles, and other matters of sport and charge. So home, and up to my chamber to look over my papers and other things, my mind being much troubled for these four or five days because of my present great expense, and will be so till I cast up and see how my estate stands, and that I am loth to do for fear I have spent too much, and delay it the rather that I may pay for my pictures and my wife's, and the book that I am buying for Paul's Schoole before I do cast up my accompts.

4th. At home most of the morning hanging up pictures, and seeing how my pewter sconces that I have bought will become my stayres and entry. With Mr. Chetwin, who had a dog challenged of him by another man that said it was his, but Mr. Chetwin called the dog, and the dog at last would follow him, and not his old master. To Wilkinson's to dinner, where we had some rost beefe and a mutton pie, and a mince-pie, but none of them pleased me. After dinner by coach my wife and I home, and I to the office, and there till late, and then I and my wife to Sir W. Pen's to cards and supper, and were merry, and much correspondence there has been between our two families this Christmas.

5th (Lord's day). My wife not well. I to church, and so home to dinner, and dined alone upon some

¹ William Faithorne, the well-known engraver. Ob. 1691.

marrow bones, and had a fine piece of rost beefe, but being alone I eat none. So after dinner comes in my brother Tom, and he tells me how he hath seen the father and mother of the girle which my cozen Joyces would have him to have for a wife, and they are much for it, but we are in a great quandary what to do therein, 200*l.* being but a little money; and I hope, if he continues as he begins, he may look out for one with more. To church, and before sermon there was a long psalm, and half another sung out while the Sexton gathered what the church would give him for this last year. I gave him 3*s.*, and have the last week given the Clerke 2*s.*, which I set down that I may know what to do the next year, if it please the Lord that I live so long; but the jest was, the Clerk begins the 25th psalm, which hath a proper tune to it, and then the 116th, which cannot be sung with that tune, which seemed very ridiculous. After church to Sir W. Batten's, where on purpose I have not been this fortnight, and I am resolved to keep myself more reserved to avoyd the contempt which otherwise I must fall into.

6th (Twelfth day). This morning I sent my lute to the Paynter's, and there I staid with him all the morning to see him paint the neck of my lute in my picture, which I was not pleased with after it was done. Thence to dinner to Sir W. Pen's, it being a solemn feast day with him, his wedding day, and we had, besides a good chine of beef and other good cheer, eighteen mince pies in a dish, the number of the years that he hath been married, where Sir W. Batten and his Lady and daughter was, and Colonel Treswell and Major Holmes, who I perceive would fain get to be free and friends with my wife, but I shall prevent it, and she herself hath also a defyance against him. After dinner they set in to drinking, so that I would stay no longer, but went away home,

and anon I went again after the company was gone, and sat and played at cards with Sir W. Pen and his children, and so after supper home.

7th. To the office. In the afternoon and at night to Sir W. Pen's, there supped and played at cards with them and were merry, the children being to go all away to schoole again to-morrow.

8th. To Westminster Hall upon several businesses, To dinner with my Lady, and so home, and so up to my study and read the two treaties before Mr. Selden's "*Mare Clausum*." This night come about 100*l*. from Brampton by carrier to me, in holsters from my father, which made me laugh.

9th. At the office all the morning private with Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Batten, and Sir W. Pen, about drawing up an answer to several demands of my Lord Treasurer, and late at it till 2 o'clock. Then to dinner, and so to the office again and sat till late. This morning we agreed upon some things to answer to the Duke about the practice of striking of the flags, which will now put me upon finishing my resolution of writing something upon the subject.

10th. To White Hall, and there spoke with Sir Paul Neale about a mathematical request of my Lord's to him, which I did deliver to him, and he promised to employ somebody to answer it, something about observation of the moone and stars, but what I did not mind. An injun^con is granted in Chancery against T. Trice, at which I was very glad, being before in some trouble for it. To Westminster, by appointment, to meet my wife at Mrs. Hunt's to gossip with her, which we did alone, and were very merry, and did give her a cup and spoon for my wife's god-child.

11th. To the Exchange, and there all the news is of the French and Dutch joyning against us; but I do not think it yet true. In the afternoon to Sir W.

Batten's, where in discourse I heard the custome of the election of the Duke of Genoa, who for two years is every day attended in the greatest state, and four or five hundred men always waiting upon him as a king; and when the two years are out, and another is chose, a messenger is sent to him, who stands at the bottom of the stairs, and he at the top, and says, "V^a. Illustrissima Serenita sta finita, et puede andar en casa."—"Your serenity is now ended; and now you may be going home:" and so claps on his hat. And the old Duke (having by custom sent his goods home before), walks away, it may be but with one man at his heels; and the new one brought immediately in his room, in the greatest state in the world. Another account was told us, how in the Dukedom of Ragusa, in the Adriatique (a State that is little, but more ancient, they say, than Venice, and is called the mother of Venice, and the Turkes lie round about it), that they change all the officers of their guard, for fear of conspiracy, every twenty-four hours, so that nobody knows who shall be captain of the guard to-night; but two men come to a man, and lay hold of him as a prisoner, and carry him to the place; and there he hath the keys of the garrison given him, and he presently issues his orders for that night's watch: and so always from night to night. Sir Wm. Rider told the first of his own knowledge; and both he and Sir W. Batten confirm the last.

12th (Lord's day). To church. At noon Sir W. Pen and my good friend Deane Fuller, by appointment, dined with me very merry and handsomely.

13th. All the morning at home, and Mr. Berkenshaw (whom I have not seen a great while, came to see me), who staid with me a great while talking of musique, and I am resolved to begin to learne of him to compose, and to begin to-morrow, he giving

of me so great hopes that I shall soon do it. Before twelve o'clock comes, by appointment, Mr. Peter and the Deane,¹ and Collonel Honiwood, brothers, to dine with me; but so soon that I was troubled at it. But, however, I entertained them with talk and oysters till one o'clock, and then we sat down to dinner, and so we dined very merry, at least I seemed so, but the dinner does not please me, and less the Deane and Collonel, whom I found to be pitiful sorry gentlemen, though good-natured, but Mr. Peter above them both, who after did show us the experiment (which I had heard talke of) of the chymicall glasses, which break all to dust by breaking off a little small end; which is a great mystery to me. They being gone, my aunt Wight and my wife to cards, she teaching of us how to play at gleeke,² which is a pretty game; but I have not my head so free as to be troubled with it.

14th. All the morning at home, Mr. Berkenshaw by appointment yesterday coming to me, and begun composition of musique. After dinner in the afternoon to the office. This day my brave vellum covers to keep pictures in, come in, which pleases me very much.

15th. This morning Mr. Berkenshaw came again, and after he had examined me and taught me something in my work, he and I went to breakfast in my chamber upon a collar of brawne, and after we had

¹ Michael Honeywood, installed Dean of Lincoln, 1660. Ob. 1681, aged 85.

² *Gleek*. A game at cards, played by three persons with forty-four cards, each hand having twelve, and eight being left for *the stock*. It was reckoned a very genteel game in Ben Jonson's time.

"Nor play with costarmongers at mumchance, tray-trip,
But keep the gallant'st company and the best games,
Gleek and primero." *Alchemist*, act v. sc. 4.

See Nares' "Glossary." (M. B.)

eaten, asked me whether we had not committed a fault in eating to-day; telling me that it is a fast day ordered by the Parliament, to pray for more seasonable weather; it having hitherto been summer weather, that it is, both as to warmth and every other thing, just as if it were the middle of May or June, which do threaten a plague (as all men think) to follow, for so it was almost the last winter; and the whole year after hath been a very sickly time to this day.

16th. Towards Cheapside; and in Paul's Church-yard saw the funeral of my Lord Cornwallis, late Steward of the King's House, a bold profane talking man, go by, and thence I to the Paynter's, and there paid him 6*l.* for the two pictures, and 36*s.* for the two frames. Stokes told us, that notwithstanding the country of Gambo is so unhealthy, yet the people of the place live very long, so as the present king there is 150 years old, which they count by rains: because every year it rains continually four months together. He also told us, that the kings there have above 100 wives a-piece, and offered him the choice of any of his wives, and so he did Captain Holmes.

17th. To Westminster with Mr. Moore, and there I met with Lany, the Frenchman, who told me that he had a letter from France last night, that tells him that my Lord Hinchingbroke is dead, and that he did die yesterday was se'nnight, which do surprise me exceedingly (though we know that he hath been sick these two months), so I hardly ever was in my life; but being fearfull that my Lady should come to hear it too suddenly, he and I went up to my Lord Crew's, and there I dined with him, and after dinner we told him, and the whole family is much disturbed by it: so we consulted what to do to tell my Lady of it; and at last we thought of my going first to Mr. George Montagu's to hear whether he had any news

of it, which I did, and there found all his house in great heaviness for the death of his son, Mr. George Montagu, who did go with our young gentlemen into France, and that they hear nothing at all of our young Lord; so believing that thence comes the mistake, I returned to my Lord Crew (in my way in the Piazza seeing a house on fire, and all the streets full of people to quench it), and told them of it, which they are much glad of, and conclude, and so I hope, that my Lord is well; and so I went to my Lady Sandwich, and told her all, and after much talk I parted thence with my wife, who had been there all the day, and so home to my musique, and then to bed.

18th. Comes Mr. Moore to give me an account how Mr. Montagu¹ was gone away of a sudden with the fleet, in such haste that he hath left behind some servants, and many things of consequence; and among others, my Lord's commission for Ambassador. Whereupon he and I took coach, and to White Hall to my Lord's lodgings, to have spoke with Mr. Ralph Montagu,² his brother (and here we staid talking with Sarah and the old man); but by and by hearing that he was in Covent Garden, we went thither: and at my Lady Harvy's, his sister, I spoke with him, and he tells me that the commission is not left behind.

19th (Lord's day). To church in the morning, where Mr. Mills preached upon Christ's being offered up for our sins, and there proving the equity with what justice God would lay our sins upon his Son, he did make such a sermon (among other things

¹ Edward Montagu.

² Ralph, eldest son of Edward, second Baron Montagu, of Boughton; created Duke of Montagu, and died 1709. His sister Elizabeth had married Sir D. Harvey, Knt., Ambassador to Constantinople.

pleading, from God's universal sovereignty over all his creatures, the power he has of commanding what he would of his Son by the same rule as that he might have made us all, and the whole world from the beginning to have been in hell, arguing from the power the potter has over his clay), that I could have wished he had let it alone; and speaking again, the Father is now so satisfied by our security for our debt, that we might say at the last day as many of us as have interest in Christ's death: Lord, we owe thee nothing, our debt is paid thee to the full; which methinks were very bold words. Home to dinner, and then my wife and I on foot to see Mrs. Turner, who continues still sick, and thence into the Old Bayly by appointment to speak with Mrs. Norbury, who lies (it falls out) next door to my uncle Fenner's; but as God would have it, we having no desire to be seen by his people, he having lately married a midwife that is old and ugly, and that hath already brought home to him a daughter and three children, we were let in at a back doore. And here she offered me the refusall of some lands of her's at Brampton, if I have a mind to buy, which I answered her I was not at present provided to do. Thence to my uncle Wight's, and there we supped and were merry, though my uncle hath lately lost 200 or 300 at sea, and I am troubled to hear that the Turkes do take more and more of our ships in the Straights, and that our merchants here in London do daily break, and are still likely to do so. So home and to prayers, and to bed.

20th. This morning Sir Wm. Batten and Pen and I did begin the examining the Treasurer's accounts, and we were all at it till noon, and then to dinner, he providing a fine dinner for us, and we eat it at Sir W. Batten's, where we were very merry. Mr. Morrice, the wine cooper, this day did divide the two butts, which we four did send for, of sherry from

Cales, and mine was put into a hogshead, and the vessel filled up with four gallons of Malaga wine, but what it will stand us in I know not : but it is the first great quantity of wine that I ever bought.

21st. To the finishing of the Treasurer's accounts this morning, and then to dinner again, and were merry as yesterday, and so home, and then to the office till night, and then home to write letters, and to practise my composition of musique, and then to bed. We have heard nothing yet how far the fleet hath got toward Portugall, but the wind being changed again, we fear they are stopped, and may be beat back again to the coast of Ireland.

22d. After musique-practice, to White Hall, and thence to Westminster, in my way calling at Mr. George Montagu's, to condole on the loss of his son, who was a fine gentleman, and it is no doubt a great discomfort to our two young gentlemen, his companions in France. After this discourse he told me, among other news, the great jealousys that are now in the Parliament House. The Lord Chancellor, it seems, taking occasion from this late plot to raise fears in the people, did project the raising of an army forthwith, besides the constant militia, thinking to make the Duke of York General thereof. But the House did, in very open termes, say, they were grown too wise to be fooled again into another army; and said they had found how that man that hath the command of an army is not beholden to any body to make him King. There are factions (private ones at Court) about Madam Palmer; but what it is about I know not. But it is something about the King's favour to her now that the Queene is coming. He told me, too, what sport the King and Court do make at Mr. Edward Montagu's leaving his things behind him. But the Chancellor (taking it a little more seriously) did openly say to my Lord Chamber-

laine, that had it been such a gallant as my Lord Mandeville¹ his son, it might have been taken as a frolique ; but for him that would be thought a grave coxcombe, it was very strange. Thence to the Hall, where I heard the House had ordered all the King's murderers, that remain, to be executed, but Fleetwood² and Downes.

23rd. All the morning with Mr. Berkenshaw, and in the afternoon by coach by invitacon to my uncle Fenner's, where I found his new wife, a pitiful, old, ugly, ill-bred woman in a hatt, a midwife. Here were many of his, and as many of her relations, sorry, mean people ; and after choosing our gloves, we all went over to the Three Crane Taverne, and though the best room in the house, in such a narrow dogg-hole we were crammed, and I believe we were near forty, that it made me loathe my company and victuals ; and a sorry poor dinner it was too. After dinner, I took aside the two Joyces, and took occasion to thank them for their kind thoughts for a wife for Tom : but that considering the possibility there is of my having no child, and what then I shall be able to leave him, I do think he may expect in that respect a wife with more money, and so desired them to think no more of it.

24th. This morning came my cozen Thos. Pepys the Executor, to speak with me, and I had much talke with him both about matters of money which my Lord Sandwich has of his and I am bond for, as also of my uncle Thomas, who I hear by him do stand

¹ Lord Mandeville was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II. He became Earl of Manchester on his father's death, and died at Paris in 1682.

² Charles, son of Sir Wm. Fleetwood, Knt., General and Commander in Chief to the Protector Richard, whose sister, Bridget, widow of Ireton, he had married. After the King's return he lived in contemptible obscurity, and died circa 1689.

upon very high terms. Thence to the Wardrobe, where very merry with my Lady, and after dinner I sent for the pictures thither, and mine is well liked; but she is much offended with my wife's, and I am of her opinion, that it do much wrong her; but I will have it altered. So home, in my way calling at Pope's Head alley, and there bought me a pair of scissars and a brasse square. So home and to my study and to bed.

25th. At home and the office all the morning. Walking in the garden to give the gardener directions what to do this year (for I intend to have the garden handsome), Sir W. Pen came to me, and did break a business to me about removing his son from Oxford to Cambridge to some private college. I proposed Magdalen, but cannot name a tutor at present; but I shall think and write about it. Thence with him to the Trinity-house to dinner; where Sir Richard Brown, one of the clerkes of the Council, and who is much concerned against Sir N. Crisp's project of making a great sasse¹ in the King's lands about Deptford, to be a wett-dock to hold 200 sail of ships. But the ground, it seems, was long since given by the King to Sir Richard. After the Trinity-house men had done their business, the master, Sir William Rider, came to bid us welcome; and so to dinner, where good cheere and discourse, but I eat a little too much beef. Thence to supper with my wife to Sir W. Pen's. While we were at supper comes Mr. Moore with letters from my Lord Sandwich, speaking of his lying still at Tangier, looking for the fleet; which, we hope, is now in a good way thither.

26th (Lord's day). To church in the morning, and

¹ "Sasse, a sluice, or lock, used in water-works."—*Bailey's Dictionary*. This project is mentioned by Evelyn, and Lysons' "Environs," vol. iv. p. 392.

then home to dinner alone with my wife, and so both to church in the afternoon. It having been a very fine clear frosty day—God send us more of them!—for the warm weather all this winter makes us fear a sickly summer. But thanks be to God, since my leaving drinking of wine, I do find myself much better and do mind my business better, and do spend less money, and less time lost in idle company.

27th. This morning, both Sir Williams and I by barge to Deptford-yard to give orders in businesses there; and called on several ships, also to give orders, and so to Woolwich, and there dined at Mr. Falconer's of victuals we carried ourselves, and one Mr. Dekins, the father of my Morena,¹ of whom we have lately bought some hempe. That being done we went home again. This morning, going to take water upon Tower-hill, we met with three sleddes standing there to carry my Lord Monson² and Sir H. Mildmay³ and another, to the gallows and back again, with ropes about their necks; which is to be repeated every year, this being the day of their sentencing the King.

28th. This morning with my wife to the Paynter's, where we staid very late to have her picture mended,

¹ This settles the disputed point who Morena was and who her father was. In the Portuguese language "morena" signifies "brunette." See Diary, 6th October, 1661: "There was also my pretty *black girl*, Mrs. Dekins," &c. (M. B.)

² William, second son of Sir Thomas Monson, Bart.; created by Charles I. Viscount Castlemaine of the kingdom of Ireland; notwithstanding which, he was instrumental in his Majesty's death: and in 1661, being degraded of his honours, was sentenced, with Sir Henry Mildmay, and Mr. Robert Wallop, to be drawn on sledges, with ropes round their necks, to Tyburn, and back to the Tower, there to remain prisoners for life. None of their names were subscribed to the King's sentence.

³ Sir H. Mildmay had enjoyed the confidence of Charles I., who made him Master of the Jewels; but he sat a few days as one of the King's Judges. He died at Antwerp.

which at last is come to be very like her, and I think well done; but the Paynter, though a very honest man, I found to be very silly as to matter of skill in shadows, for we were long in discourse, till I was almost angry to hear him talk so simply.

29th. To Westminster, and at the Parliament doore spoke with Mr. Coventry about business, and so to the Wardrobe to dinner, and so home, where I found Mrs. Pen and Mrs. Rooth and Smith, who played at cards with my wife, and I did give them a barrel of oysters, and had a pullet to supper for them, and when it was ready to come to table, the foolish girle had not the manners to stay and sup with me, but went away, which did vex me cruelly. So I saw her home, and then to supper, and so to musique practice, and to bed.

30th. Fast-day for the murthering of the late King. I went to church, and Mr. Mills made a good sermon upon David's words, "Who can lay his hands upon the Lord's Anoynted and be guiltlesse?" So home and to dinner, and employed all the afternoon in my chamber, setting things and papers to rights, which pleased me very well, and I think I shall begin to take pleasure in being at home and minding my business. I pray God I may, for I finde a great need thereof. At night to supper and to bed.

31st. All the morning, after musique practice, in my cellar, ordering some alteracons therein, being much pleased with my new doore into the back yard. So to dinner, and all the afternoon thinking upon business.

February 1st. This morning with Commissioner Pett to the office; and he staid there writing, while I and Sir W. Pen walked in the garden talking about his business of putting his son to Cambridge; and to that end I intend to write to-night to Dr. Faire-

brother, to give me an account of Mr. Burton¹ of Magdalen. Thence with Mr. Pett to the Paynter's; and he likes our pictures very well, and so do I. Thence he and I to the Countesse of Sandwich, to lead him to her to kiss her hands: and dined with her, and told her the news (which Sir W. Pen told me to-day) that expresse is come from my Lord with letters, that by a great storm and tempest the mole of Argier² is broken down, and many of their ships sunk into the mole. So that God Almighty hath now ended that unlucky business for us; which is very good news.

2nd (Lord's day). To church in the morning, and then home and dined with my wife, and so both of us to church again, where we had an Oxford man give us a most impertinent sermon upon "Cast your bread upon the waters," &c.

3rd. After musique practice I went to the office, and there with the two Sir Williams all the morning about business, and at noon I dined with Sir W. Batten with many friends more, it being his wedding-day, and among other froliques, it being their third year, they had three pyes, whereof the middlemost was made of an ovall form, in an ovall hole within the other two, which made much mirth, and was called the middle piece; and above all the rest, we had great striving to steal a spooneful out of it; and I remember Mrs. Mills, the minister's wife, did steal one for me and did give it me; and to end all, Mrs. Shippman did fill the pye full of white wine, it holding at least a pint and a half, and did drink it off for a health to Sir William and my Lady, it being the greatest draft that ever I did see a woman drink in my life. I went along with my lady and the rest of the gentlewomen to Major Holmes's, and there we

¹ Hezekiah Burton, S.T.B. 1661.

² *i. e.* Algiers. (M. B.)

had a fine supper, among others, excellent lobsters, which I never eat at this time of the year before. The Major hath good lodgings at the Trinity House. At last home, and, being in my chamber, we do hear great noise of mirth at Sir William Batten's, tearing the ribbands¹ from my Lady and him.

4th. To Westminster Hall, where it was full terme. Here all the morning, and at noon to my Lord Crew's, where one Mr. Templer (an ingenious man and a person of honour he seems to be) dined; and, discoursing of the nature of serpents, he told us some that in the waste places of Lancashire do grow to a great bigness, and that do feed upon larkes, which they take thus:—They observe when the larke is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they come to be just underneath them; and there they place themselves with their mouths uppermost, and there, as is conceived, they do eject poyson up to the bird; for the bird do suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent; which is very strange. He is a great traveller; and, speaking of the tarantula, he says that all the harvest long (about which times they are most busy) there are fidlers go up and down the fields every where, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung. This afternoon, going into the office, one met me and did serve a subpoena upon me for one Field, whom we did commit to prison the other day for some ill words he did give the office. The like he had for others, but we shall scoure him for it.

5th. Early at the office. Sir G. Carteret, the two Sir Williams and myself all alone reading of the Duke's institutions for the settlement of our office, whereof we read as much as concerns our own duties, and left the other officers for another time. At noon

¹ As if they were a newly-married couple. See 26th January, 1660-1, and 8th February, 1662-3. (M. B.)

Sir W. Pen dined with me, and after dinner he and I and my wife to the Theatre, and there saw "Rule a Wife and have a Wife"¹ very well done. And here also I did look long upon my Lady Castlemaine, who, notwithstanding her late sickness, continues a great beauty.

6th. At my musique practice, and so into my cellar to my workmen, and I am very much pleased with my alteracon there. About noon comes my uncle Thomas to me to ask for his annuity, and I did tell him my mind freely. We had some high words, but I was willing to end all in peace, and so I made him dine with me, and I have hopes to work my end upon him. After dinner the barber trimmed me, and so to the office, where I do begin to be exact in my duty there and exacting my privileges, and shall continue to do so.

7th. By water to Westminster with Commissioner Pett (landing my wife at Black Friars) where I hear the prisoners in the Tower that are to die are come to the Parliament-house this morning. To the Wardrobe to dinner with my Lady; where a civitt cat, parrot, apes, and many other things are come from my Lord by Captain Hill, who dined with my Lady with us to-day. Thence to the Paynter's, and am well pleased with our pictures. By and by, hearing that Mr. Turner was much troubled at what I do in the office, and do give ill words to Sir W. Pen and others of me, I am much troubled in my mind, and so went to bed; not that I fear him at all, but the natural aptnesse I have to be troubled at any thing that crosses me.

8th. All the morning in the cellar with the colliers, removing the coles out of the old cole hole into the new one, which cost me 8s. the doing; but now the

¹ A Comedy, by J. Fletcher.

cellar is done and made clean, it do please me exceedingly. I pray God keep me from setting my mind too much upon it. So to the office, and thence to talk with Sir W. Pen, walking in the dark in the garden some turns, he telling me of the ill management of our office.

9th (Lord's day). I took physique this day, and was all day in my chamber, talking with my wife about her laying out of £20, which I had long since promised her to lay out in clothes against Easter for herself, and composing some ayres, God forgive me! At night to prayers and to bed.

10th. Musique practice a good while, then to Paul's Church-yard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller's "England's Worthys," the first time that I ever saw it; and so I sat down reading in it; being much troubled that (though he had some discourse with me about my family and armes) he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolke. But I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable.

11th. Dined at home; at the office in the afternoon. So home to musique, my mind being full of our alteracons in the garden. At night begun to compose songs, and begin with "Gaze not on Swans."

12th. This morning, till four in the afternoon, I spent abroad, doing of many and considerable businesses, so home with my mind very highly contented with my day's work, wishing I could do so every day. This night I had half a 100 poore Jack sent me by Mr. Adis.

13th. Mr. Blackburne do tell me plain of the corruption of all our Treasurer's officers, and that they hardly pay any money under ten per cent.; and that the other day, for a mere assignation of 200*l.* to some counties, they took 15*l.*, which is very strange. Last night died the Queene of Bohemia.

14th (Valentine's day). I did this day purposely shun to be seen at Sir W. Batten's, because I would not have his daughter to be my Valentine, as she was the last year, there being no great friendship between us now, as formerly. This morning in comes W. Bowyer, who was my wife's Valentine, she having, at which I made good sport to myself, held her hands all the morning, that she might not see the paynters that were at work in gilding my chimney-piece and pictures in my dining-room. By and by she and I by coach with him to Westminster. I walked in the Hall, and there among others met with Serj^t Pierce, and I took him aside to drink a cup of ale, and he told the basest thing of Mr. Montagu's and his man Eschar's going away in debt, that I am troubled and ashamed, but glad to be informed of. He thinks he has left 1,000*l.* for my Lord to pay, and that he has not laid out 3,000*l.* out of the 5,000*l.* for my Lord's use, and is not able to make an account of any of the money.

15th. With the two Sir Williams to the Trinity-house; and there in their society had the business debated of Sir Nicholas Crisp's sasse at Deptford. After dinner I was sworn a Younger Brother; Sir W. Rider being Deputy-Master for my Lord of Sandwich; and after I was sworn, all the Elder Brothers shake me by the hand: it is their custom, it seems. No news yet of our fleet gone to Tangier, which we now begin to think long.

16th (Lord's day). To church this morning, and so home and to dinner. In the afternoon I walked to St. Bride's to church, to hear Dr. Jacomb preach upon the recovery, and at the request of Mrs. Turner, who came abroad this day, the first time since her long sickness. He preached upon David's words, "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord," and made a pretty good sermon, though

not extraordinary. After sermon I led her home, and sat with her, and there was the Dr. got before; but strange what a command he hath got over Mrs. Turner, who was so carefull to get him what he would, after his preaching, to drink, and he, with a cunning gravity, knows how to command, and had it, and among other things told us that he heard more of the Common Prayer this afternoon (while he stood in the vestry, before he went up into the pulpitt) than he had heard this twenty years. Thence to my uncle Wight and supped, and so home, not being very well. So to prayers and to bed, and there had a good draft of mulled ale brought me.

17th. This morning, both Sir Williams, myself, and Captain Cocke and Captain Tinker of the Conventine, which we are going to look upon (being intended to go with these ships fitting for the East Indys), down to Deptford; and thence, after being on ship-board, to Woolwich, and there eat something. The Sir Williams being unwilling to eat flesh, Captain Cocke and I had a breast of veale roasted. And here I drank wine upon necessity, being ill for want of it, and I find reason to fear that by my too sudden leaving off wine, I do contract many evils upon myself. Going and coming we played at gleeke,¹ and I won 9s. 6d. clear, the most that ever I won in my life. I pray God it may not tempt me to play again.

18th. Having agreed with Sir Wm. Pen and my wife to meet them at the Opera, and finding by my walking in the streets, which were every where full of brick-battes and tyles flung down by the extraordinary winde the last night (such as hath not been in memory before, unless at the death of the late Protector), that it was dangerous to go out of doors; and hearing how several persons had been

¹ See 13th January, 1661-2. (M. B.)

killed to-day by the fall of things in the streets, and that the pageant in Fleet-streete is most of it blown down, and hath broke down part of several houses, among others Dick Brigden's; and that one Lady Sanderson, a person of quality in Covent Garden, was killed by the fall of the house, in her bed, last night; I sent my boy home to forbid them to go forth. But he bringing me word that they are gone, I went thither and there saw "The Law against Lovers,"¹ a good play and well performed, especially the little girl's (whom I never saw act before) dancing and singing; and were it not for her, the losse of Roxalana would spoil the house.

19th. Musique practice: thence to the Trinity House to conclude upon our report of Sir N. Crisp's project who came to us to answer objections, but we did give him no eare, but are resolved to stand to our report; though I could wish we had shewn him more justice and had heard him. Thence to the Wardrobe and dined with my Lady.

20th. Letters from Tangier from my Lord, telling me how, upon a great defete given to the Portuguese there by the Moors, he had put in 300 men into the towne, and so he is in possession, of which we are very glad, because now the Spaniard's designs of hindering our getting the place are frustrated. I went with the letter inclosed to my Lord Chancellor to the House of Lords, and did give it him in the House. Went by promise to Mr. Savill's, and there sat the first time for my picture in little, which pleaseth me well.

21st. All the morning putting things in my house in order, and packing up glass to send into the country to my father, and books to my brother John, and then to my Lord Crew's to dinner.

¹ A tragi-comedy by Sir William Davenant; taken from "Measure for Measure," and "Much Ado about Nothing."

22nd. At the office busy all the morning, and thence to dinner to my Lady Sandwich's, and thence with Mr. Moore to our Attorney, Wellpoole's, and there found that Godfry has basely taken out a judgment against us for the 40*l.*, for which I am vexed. So home, and hither came Mr. Savill with the pictures, and we hung them up in our dining-room. It comes now to appear very handsome with all my pictures. This evening I wrote letters to my father; among other things acquainting him with the unhappy accident which hath happened lately to my Lord of Dorset's two oldest sons, who, with two Belasses and one Squire Wentworth, were lately apprehended for killing and robbing of a tanner about Newington on Wednesday last, and are all now in Newgate. I am much troubled for it, and for the grief and disgrace it brings to their families and friends.¹

23rd (Lord's day). My cold being increased, I staid at home all day, pleasing myself with my dining-room, now graced with pictures, and reading of Dr. Fuller's "Worthys." So I spent the day, and at night comes Sir W. Pen and supped and talked with me. This day by God's mercy I am 29 years of age, and in very good health, and like to live and get an estate; and if I have a heart to be contented,

¹ The following account of this transaction is abridged from the "*Mercurius Publicus*" of the day: "Charles Lord Buckhurst, Edward Sackville, Esq., his brother; Sir Henry Belasyse, K.B., eldest son of Lord Belasyse; John Belasyse, brother to Lord Faulconberg; and Thomas Wentworth, Esq., only son of Sir G. Wentworth, whilst in pursuit of thieves near Waltham Cross, mortally wounded an innocent tanner named Hoppy, whom they had endeavoured to secure, suspecting him to have been one of the robbers; and as they took away the money found on his person, under the idea that it was stolen property, they were soon after apprehended on the charges of robbery and murder; but the Grand Jury found a bill for manslaughter only." By a subsequent allusion in the Diary to their trial, it seems probable that a verdict of acquittal was pronounced.

I think I may reckon myself as happy a man as any is in the world, for which God be praised. So to prayers and to bed.

24th. Long with Mr. Berkenshaw in the morning at my musique practice, finishing my song of "Gaze not on Swans," in two parts, which pleases me well, and I did give him 5*l*. for this month or five weeks that he hath taught me, which is a great deal of money and troubled me to part with it. Thence to the Paynter's, and set again for my picture in little, and thence over the water to Southwarke to Mr. Berkenshaw's house, and there sat with him all the afternoon, he showing me his great card of the body of musique, which he cries up for a rare thing, and I do believe it cost much pains, but is not so useful as he would have it. Then we sat down and set "Nulla, nulla sit formido," and he has set it very finely. So home and to supper, and then called Will up, and chid him before my wife for refusing to go to church with the mayds yesterday, and telling his mistress that he would not be made a slave of, which vexes me. So to bed.

25th. Great talk of the effects of this late great wind; and I heard one say that he had five great trees standing together blown down; and, beginning to lop them, one of them, as soon as the lops were cut off, did, by the weight of the root, rise again and fasten. We have letters from the forest of Deane, that above 1000 oakes and as many beeches are blown down in one walke there. And letters from my father tell me of 20*l*. hurt done to us at Brampton. This day in the news-booke I find that my Lord Buckhurst¹ and his fellows have printed their case as they did give it in upon examination to a

¹ Charles Lord Buckhurst, eldest son of Richard, fifth Earl of Dorset; created Earl of Middlesex soon after his uncle's death, in 1675, and succeeded his father in 1677. Ob. 1705-6.

Justice of Peace, wherein they make themselves a very good tale that they were in pursuit of thieves, and that they took this man for one of them, and so killed him ; and that he himself confessed it was the first time of his robbing ; and that he did pay dearly for it, for he was a dead man. But I doubt things will be proved otherwise, as they say.

26th. Mr. Berkenshaw with me all the morning composing of musique to " This cursed jealousy what is it ? " After dinner I went to my Bookseller's and other places to pay my debts, I being resolved to cast up my accounts within a day or two for I fear I have run out too far.

27th. This morning came Mr. Berkenshaw to me and in our discourse I, finding that he cries up his rules for most perfect (though I do grant them to be very good, and the best I believe that ever yet were made), and that I could not persuade him to grant wherein they were somewhat lame, we fell to angry words, so that in a pet he flung out of my chamber and I never stopped him, having intended to put him off to-day, whether this had happened or no, because I think I have all the rules that he hath to give.

28th. The boy failing to call us up as I commanded, I was angry, and resolved to whip him for that and many other faults, to-day. Early with Sir W. Pen by coach to Whitehall, to the Duke of York's chamber, and there I presented him from my Lord a fine map of Tangier, done by one Captain Beckman, a Swede, that is with my Lord. We staid looking it over a great while with the Duke after he was ready. Home, and to be as good as my word, I bade Will get me a rod, and he and I called the boy up to one of the upper rooms of the Comptroller's house towards the garden, and there I reckoned all his faults, and whipped him

soundly, but the rods were so small that I fear they did not much hurt to him, but only to my arm, which I am already, within a quarter of an hour, not able to stir almost.

March 1st. This morning I paid Sir W. Batten 40*l.*, which I have owed him this half year. Then to the office all the morning, so dined at home, and after dinner my wife and I by coach, first to see my little picture that is a drawing, and thence to the Opera, and there saw "Romeo and Juliet," the first time it was ever acted; but it is a play of itself the worst that ever I heard in my life, and the worst acted that ever I saw these people do, and I am resolved to go no more to see the first time of acting, for they were all of them out more or less. I do find that I am 500*l.* beforehand in the world, which I was afraid I was not, but I find that I had spent above 250*l.* this last half year, which troubles me much, but by God's blessing I am resolved to take up, having furnished myself with all things for a great while, and to-morrow to think upon some rules and obligations upon myself to walk by.

2nd (Lord's day). With my mind much eased talking long in bed with my wife about our frugal life for the time to come, proposing to her what I could and would do if I were worth 2,000*l.*, that is, be a knight, and keep my coach, which pleased her, and so I do hope we shall hereafter live to save something, for I am resolved to keep myself by rules from expenses. To church in the morning: none in the pew but myself. So home to dinner, and after dinner came Sir William and talked with me till church time, and then to church.

3rd. I do find a great deal more of content in these few days, that I do spend well about my business, than in all the pleasure of a whole week, besides the trouble which I remember I always have after that

for the expense of my money. I am told that this day the Parliament hath voted 2s. per annum for every chimney in England, as a constant revenue for ever to the Crowne.

4th. At the office all the morning, dined at home at noon, and then to the office again in the afternoon. By and by Sir W. Pen and I and my wife in his coach to Moore Fields, where we walked a great while, though it was no fair weather and cold; and after our walk we went to the Pope's Head, and eat cakes and other fine things.

5th. To the pewterer's, to buy a poore's-box to put my forfeits in, upon breach of my late vows. So to the Wardrobe and dined, and thence home and to my office, and there sat looking over my papers of my voyage, when we fetched over the King, and tore so many of these that were worth nothing, as filled my closet as high as my knees.

6th. Up early, my mind full of business, then to the office, where the two Sir Williams and I spent the morning passing the victualler's accounts, the first I have had to do withal; after dinner to the office back again till night, we having been these four or five days very full of business, and I thank God I am well pleased with it, and hope I shall continue of that temper, which God grant. This night my new camelott riding coate to my coloured cloth suit came home. More news to-day of our losses at Brampton by the late storm.

7th. Early to White Hall to the chappell, where by Mr. Blaggrave's means I got into his pew, and heard Dr. Creeton, the great Scotchman, and chaplain in ordinary to the King, preach before the King, and Duke and Duchesse, upon the words of Micah:—"Roule yourselves in dust." He made a most learned sermon upon the words; but, in his application, the most comical man that ever I heard in my life.

Just such a man as Hugh Peters ; saying that it had been better for the poor Cavalier never to have come with the King into England again ; for he that hath the impudence to deny obedience to the lawful magistrate, and to swear to the oath of allegiance, &c., was better treated now-a-days in Newgate, than a poor Royalist, that hath suffered all his life for the King, is at White Hall among his friends.

8th. By coach with both Sir Williams to Westminster ; this being a great day there in the House to pass the business for chimney-money, which was done. In the Hall I met with Serjeant Pierce ; and he and I to drink a cup of ale at the Swan, and there he told me how my Lady Monk hath disposed of all the places which Mr. Edwd. Montagu hoped to have had, as he was Master of the Horse to the Queene ; which I am afraid will undo him, because he depended much upon the profit of what he should make by these places. He told me, also, many more scurvy stories of him and his brother Ralph, which troubles me to hear of persons of honour as they are. Sir W. Pen and I to the office, whither afterward came Sir G. Carteret ; and we sent for Sir Thos. Allen, one of the Aldermen of the City,¹ about the business of one Colonel Appesley, whom we had taken counterfeiting of bills with all our hands and the officers of the yards, so well counterfeited that I should never have mistrusted them. We staid about this business at the office till ten at night, and at last did send him with a constable to the Counter ; and did give warrants for the seizing of a complice of his, one Blinkinsopp.

9th (Lord's day). Church in the morning : dined at home, then to Church again and heard Mr. Naylor, whom I knew formerly of Keye's College,

¹ Probably Sheriff of London, 1654.

make a most eloquent sermon. Thence to Sir W. Batten's to see how he did, then to walk an hour with Sir W. Pen in the garden : then he in to supper with me at my house, and so to prayers and to bed.

10th. At the office doing business all the morning, in the afternoon met Sir W. Pen at the Treasury Office, and there paid off the Guift, where late at night. Home and to bed, to-morrow being washing day.

11th. At the office all the morning, and all the afternoon rumaging of papers in my chamber, and tearing some and sorting others till late at night.

12th. This morning we had news from Mr. Coventry, that Sir G. Downing¹ (like a perfidious rogue, though the action is good and of service to the King, yet he cannot with a good conscience do it) hath taken Okey,² Corbet, and Barkestead at Delfe, in Holland, and sent them home in the Blackmore. Sir W. Pen, talking to me this afternoon of what a strange thing it is for Downing to do this, he told me of a speech he made to the Lords States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observance now, that he was when he came from the traitor and rebell Cromwell : by whom, I am sure, he hath got all he hath in the world,—and they know it too.³

¹ According to Hume, Downing had once been Chaplain to Okey's regiment.

² John Okey, Miles Corbet, and John Barkstead, three of the regicides ; executed April 19th following.

³ Charles, when residing at Brussels, went to the Hague at night to pay a secret visit to his sister, the Princess of Orange. After his arrival, "an old reverend-like man, with a long grey beard and ordinary grey clothes," entered the inn and begged for a private interview. He then fell on his knees, and pulling off his disguise, discovered himself to be Mr. Downing, then ambassador

13th. All day, either at the office or at home, busy about business till late at night. Having lately followed my business much, I find great pleasure in it, and a growing content.

14th. At the office all the morning. Home to dinner. In the afternoon came the German Dr. Kuffler, to discourse with us about his engine to blow up ships. We doubted not the matter of fact, it being tried in Cromwell's time, but the safety of carrying them in ships; but he do tell us, that when he comes to tell the King his secret (for none but the Kings, successively, and their heirs must know it), it will appear to be of no danger at all. We concluded nothing; but shall discourse with the Duke of York to-morrow about it. I found that Sarah the mayde had been very ill all day, and my wife fears that she will have an ague, which I am much troubled for. Thence to my lute, upon which I have not played a week or two, and trying over the two songs of "Nulla, nulla," &c., and "Gaze not on Swans," which Mr. Birkenshaw set for me a little while ago, I find them most incomparable songs as he has set them, of which I am not a little proud, because I am sure none in the world has them but myself, not so much as he himself that set them. So to bed.

15th. With Sir G. Carteret and both the Sir Williams at Whitehall to wait on the Duke in his chamber, which we did about getting money for the Navy and other things. So back again to the office all the morning. Thence to the Exchange to hire a ship for the Maderas, but could get none. Troubled at my mayde's being ill.

16th (Lord's day). This morning, till churches from Cromwell to the States-General. He informed Charles that the Dutch had guaranteed to the English Commonwealth to deliver him into their hands should he ever set foot in their territory. This warning probably saved Charles's liberty. (M. B.)

were done, I spent going from one church to another and hearing a bit here and a bit there. So to the Wardrobe to dinner with the young Ladies, and so walked to White Hall; and an houre or two in the Parke, which is now very pleasant. Here the King and Duke came to see their fowle play. The Duke took very civil notice of me. So walked home, calling at Tom's, giving him my resolution about my boy's livery. Here I spent an houre walking in the garden with Sir W. Pen, and then my wife and I thither to supper, where his son William is at home not well. But all things, I fear, do not go well with them; they look discontentedly, but I know not what ails them.

17th. Last night the Blackmore pinke brought the three prisoners, Barkestead, Okey, and Corbet, to the Tower, being taken at Delfe in Holland; where, the Captain tells me, the Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir G. Downing would not be answered so: though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villain for his pains.

18th. All the morning at the office with Sir W. Pen. After dinner to the office again, where Sir G. Carteret and we staid awhile, and then Sir W. Pen and I on board some of the ships now fitting for East Indys and Portugall, to see in what forwardness they are. That which troubles me is that my Father has now got an ague that I fear may endanger his life.

19th. All the morning and afternoon at my office. This noon came a letter from T. Pepys, the turner, in answer to one of mine the other day to him, wherein I did cheque him for not coming to me, as he had promised, with his and his father's resolution about the difference between us. But he writes to

me in the very same slighting terms that I did to him, without the least respect at all, but word for word as I did him, which argues a high and noble spirit in him, though it troubles me a little that he should make no more of my anger, yet I cannot blame him for doing so, he being the elder brother's son, and not depending upon me at all.

20th. At my office all the morning, at noon to the Exchange, and so home to dinner, and then all the afternoon at the office till late at night, and so home and to bed, my mind in good ease when I mind business, which methinks should be a good argument to me never to do otherwise.

21st. I went to see Sarah and my Lord's lodgings, which are now all in dirt, to be repaired against my Lord's coming from sea with the Queene. Thence to Westminster Hall; and there walked up and down and heard the great difference that hath been between my Lord Chancellor and my Lord of Bristol, about a proviso that my Lord Chancellor would have brought into the Bill for Conformity, that it shall be in the power of the King, when he sees fit, to dispense with the Act of Conformity; and though it be carried in the House of Lords, yet it is believed it will hardly pass in the Commons.

22nd. At the office all the morning. At noon Sir Williams both and I by water down to the Lewes, Captain Dekins, his ship, a merchantman, where we met the owners, Sir John Lewes and Alderman Lewes, and several other great merchants; among others one Jefferys, a merry man, and he and I called brothers, and he made all the mirth in the company. We had a very fine dinner, and all our wives' healths, with seven or nine guns apiece; and exceeding merry we were, and so home by barge again.

23rd (Lord's day). This morning was brought me my boye's fine livery, which is very handsome, and I

do think to keep to black and gold lace upon gray, being the colour of my arms, for ever. To White Hall, and there met with Captn. Isham, this day come from Lisbone, with letters from the Queene to the King. And he did give me letters which speak that our fleet is all at Lisbone; and that the Queene do not intend to embarque sooner than to-morrow come fortnight.

24th. Early Sir G. Carteret, both Sir Williams and I on board the Experiment, to dispatch her away, she being to carry things to the Maderas with the East Indy fleet. Having put things in good order I home. By and by comes La Belle Pierce to see my wife, and to bring her a pair of perukes of hair, as the fashion now is for ladies to wear; which are pretty, and are of my wife's own hair, or else I should not endure them. After a good whiles stay, I went to see if any play was acted, and I found none upon the post, it being Passion week. So home again, and took water with them towards Westminster; but as we put off with the boat Griffin came after me to tell me that Sir G. Carteret and the rest were at the office, so I intended to see them through the bridge and come back again, but the tide being against us, when we were almost through we were carried back again with much danger, and Mrs. Pierce was much afeard and frightened. So I carried them to the other side and walked to the Beare, and sent them away, and so back again myself to the office, and then went to Westminster Hall, and there bought Mr. Grant's book of observations upon the weekly bills of mortality, which appear to me upon first sight to be very pretty.

26th. Up early. This being, by God's great blessing, the fourth solemne day of my cutting for the stone this day four years, and am by God's mercy in very good health, and like to do well, the Lord's

name be praised for it. At noon come my good guests, Madame Turner, The., and Cozen Norton, and a gentleman, one Mr. Lewin of the King's Life-Guard; by the same token he told us of one of his fellows killed this morning in a duel. I had a pretty dinner for them, viz., a brace of stewed carps, six roasted chickens, and a jowle of salmon, hot, for the first course; a tanzy¹ and two neats' tongues, and cheese the second; and were very merry all the afternoon, talking and singing and piping upon the flageolet. We had a man-cook to dress dinner to-day, and sent for Jane to help us, and my wife and she agreed at 3*l.* a year (she would not serve under) till both could be better provided, and so she stays with us.

27th. Early Sir G. Carteret, both Sir Williams and I by coach to Deptford, taking a codd and some prawns in Fish Street with us. We settled to pay the Guernsey, a small ship, but come to a great deal of money, it having been unpaid ever since before the King came in, by which means not only the King pays wages while the ship has lain still, but the poor men have most of them been forced to borrow all the money due for their wages before they receive it, and that at a dear rate, God knows, so that many of them had very little to receive at the table, which grieved me to see it. To dinner, very merry.

28th (Good Friday). At home all the morning. At my office all the afternoon.

29th. To my Lady, and staid two hours talking

¹ Tansy (*tanacetum*), a herb from which puddings were made. Hence any pudding of the kind. Selden ("Table Talk") says: "Our tansies at Easter have reference to the bitter herbs." See in Wordsworth's "University Life in the Eighteenth Century" recipes for "an apple tansey," "a bean tansey," and "a gooseberry tansey." (M. B.)

with her about her family business with great content and confidence in me. Home, where my people are getting the house clean against to-morrow.

30th (Easter day). Having my old black suit new furbished, I was pretty neat in clothes to-day, and my boy, his old suit new trimmed, very handsome. To church in the morning, and so home, leaving the two Sir Williams to take the Sacrament, which I blame myself that I have hitherto neglected all my life, but once or twice at Cambridge. Dined with my wife, a good shoulder of veal well dressed by Jane, which pleased us much. My wife and I to church in the afternoon, and seated ourselves, she below me, and by that means the precedence of the pew, which my Lady Batten and her daughter takes, is confounded; and after sermon she and I did stay behind them in the pew, and went out by ourselves a good while after them, which we judge a very fine project hereafter to avoyd contention. So my wife and I to walk an houre or two on the leads, which begins to be very pleasant, the garden being in good condition. So to supper, which is also well served in. We had a lobster to supper, with a crabb Pegg Pen sent my wife this afternoon, the reason of which we cannot think; but something there is of plot or design in it, for we have a little while carried ourselves pretty strange to them.

31st. This morning Mr. Coventry and all our company met at the office about some business of the victualling. I to my Lord Crew's to dinner, where used with much respect, and talking with him about my Lord's debts, and whether we should make use of an offer of Sir G. Carteret's to lend my Lady 4 or 500*l.*, he told me by no means, we must not oblige my Lord to him, and by the by he made a question whether it was not my Lord's interest a little to appear to the King in debt, and for people to clamor

against him as well as others for their money, that by that means the King and the world may see that he do lay out for the King's honour upon his own main stock. Thence to Sir Thomas Crew's lodgings. He hath been ill, and continues so, under fits of apoplexy. Among other things, he and I did discourse much of Mr. Montagu's base doings, and the dishonour that he will do my Lord, as well as cheating him of 2 or 3,000*l.*, which is too true. Thence to the play, where coming late, and meeting with Sir W. Pen, who had got room for my wife and his daughter in the pit, he and I into one of the boxes, and there we sat and heard "The Little Thiefe," a pretty play and well done.

April 1st. At noon my wife and I to the Wardrobe and dined. Here was Mr. Harbord, son to Sir Charles Harbord, that lately came with letters from my Lord Sandwich to the King. He and I and the two young ladies and my wife to the playhouse, the opera, and saw "The Mayde in the Mill," a pretty good play; and that being done, in their coach I took them to Islington, and then, after a walk in the fields, I took them to the great cheese-cake house and entertained them, and so home; and after an houre's stay with my Lady, their coach carried us home, and so weary to bed.

2nd. Mr. Moore came to me, and he and I walked to the Spittle an houre or two before my Lord Mayor and the blewe-coate boys come, which at last they did, and a fine sight of charity it is indeed. We got places and staid to hear a sermon; but, it being a Presbyterian one, it was so long, that after above an houre of it we went away, and I home and dined; and then my wife and I by water to the opera, and there saw "The Bondman" most excellently acted; and though we had seen it so often, yet I never liked it better than to-day, Ianthe acting Clerora's part

very well now Roxalana is gone. We are resolved to see no more plays till Whitsuntide, we having been three days together. Met Mr. Sanchy, Smithes, Gale, and Edlin at the play, but having no great mind to spend money, I left them there.

4th. By barge Sir George, Sir Williams both and I to Deptford, and there fell to pay off the Drake and Hampshire, then to dinner. Then to pay the rest of the Hampshire and the Paradox, and were at it till 9 at night, and so by night home by barge safe. I was much troubled to-day to see a dead man lie floating upon the waters, and had done (they say) these four days, and nobody takes him up to bury him, which is very barbarous.

5th. At the office till almost noon, and then broke up. Then came Sir G. Cartaret, and he and I walked together alone in the garden, taking notice of some faults in the office, particularly of Sir W. Batten's, and he seemed to be much pleased with me, and I hope will be the ground of a future interest of mine in him, which I shall be glad of.

6th (Lord's day). By water to White Hall, to Sir G. Carteret, to give him an account of the backwardness of the ships we have hired to Portugall: at which he is much troubled. Thence to the Chappell, and there, though crowded, heard a very honest sermon before the King by a Canon of Christ Church, upon these words, "Having a form of godlinesse, but denying," &c. Among other things, he did much insist upon the sin of adultery: which methought might touch the King, and the more because he forced it into his sermon, methinks, besides his text. So up and saw the King at dinner; and thence with Sir G. Carteret to his lodgings to dinner, with him and his lady. All their discourse, which was very much, was upon their sufferings and services for the King. Yet not without some trouble, to see that some that had been much bound to them, do now

neglect them; and others again most civil that have received least from them: and I do believe that he hath been a good servant to the King. Thence to walk in the Parke, where the King and Duke did walk round the Park. After I was tired I went and took boat to Milford stairs, and so to Graye's Inn walks, the first time I have been there this year, and it is very pleasant and full of good company. When tired I walked to the Wardrobe, and there staid a little with my Lady, and so home and to bed.

7th. By water to Whitehall and thence to Westminster, and staid at the Parliament-doore long to speak with Mr. Coventry, which vexed me. Thence to the Lords' House, and stood within the House, while the Bishops and Lords did stay till the Chancellor's coming, and then we were put out, and they to prayers. There comes a Bishop; and while he was rigging himself, he bid his man listen at the door, whereabout in the prayers they were; but the man told him something, but could not tell whereabouts it was in the prayers, nor the Bishop neither, but laughed at the conceit; so went in: but, God forgive me! I did tell it by and by to people, and did say that the man said that they were about something of saving their souls, but could not tell whereabouts in the prayers that was. I sent in a note to my Lord Privy Seale, and he came out to me; and I desired he would make another deputy for me, because of my great business of the Navy this month; but he told me he could not do it without the King's consent, which vexed me. Thence by water and to Tom's, and there with my wife took coach and to the old Exchange, where having bought six large Holland bands, I sent her home, and myself to Mr. Rawlinson's to dinner, but was troubled in my head after the little wine I drank, and so home to my office, and there did promise to drink no more wine but one glass a meal till Whitsuntide next upon any score.

The great talk is, that the Spaniards and the Hollanders do intend to set upon the Portuguese by sea, at Lisbon, as soon as our fleet is come away; and by that means our fleet is not likely to come yet these two months or three; which I hope is not true.

8th. Up very early and to my office, and there continued till noon. So to dinner, and in comes uncle Fenner and the two Joyces. I sent for a barrel of oysters and a breast of veal roasted, and were very merry; but I cannot down with their dull company and impertinent. After dinner to the office again.

9th. Sir George Carteret, Sir Williams both and myself all the morning at the office passing the Victualler's accounts, and at noon to dinner at the Dolphin, where a good chine of beefe and other good cheer. At dinner Sir George showed me an account in French of the great famine, which is to the greatest extremity in some part of France at this day; which is very strange.

10th. Yesterday came Col. Talbot¹ with letters from Portugall, that the Queene is resolved to imbarque for England this week. Thence to the office all the afternoon. My Lord Windsor² came to us to discourse of his affairs, and to take his leave of us; he being to go Governor of Jamaica with this fleet that is now going.

11th. Up early to my lute and song, then about six o'clock with Sir W. Pen by water to Deptford; and among the ships now going to Portugall with men and horse, to see them dispatched. So to Greenwich; and had a fine pleasant walk to Woolwich, having in our company Capt. Minnes, whom

¹ On King James's accession to the throne, he was created Earl of Tyrconnel. He is said to have died suddenly by poison, administered in a cup of ratafia, 1691. See Grammont, "Memoirs." (M. B.)

² Thomas Baron Windsor, Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire; advanced to the Earldom of Plymouth, 1682. Ob. 1687.

I was much pleased to hear talk. Among other things, he and the other Captains that were with us tell me that negros drowned look white and lose their blackness, which I never heard before. At Woolwich, up and down to do the same business; and so back to Greenwich by water. Sir William and I walked into the Parke, where the King hath planted trees and made steps in the hill up to the Castle, which is very magnificent. So up and down the house, which is now repaying in the Queen's lodgings. So to dinner at the Globe, and were merry, and so home, and I in the evening to the Exchange, and so home and walked with my wife on the leads late, and so the barber came to me, and so to bed very weary which I seldom am.

12th. At the office all the morning, where, among other things, being provoked by some impertinence of Sir W. Batten's, I called him unreasonable man, at which he was very angry and so was I, but I think we shall not much fall out about it. After dinner wrote letters at my office, and one to Mr. Coventry about business, and at the close did excuse my not waiting on him myself so often as others do for want of leisure.

13th (Lord's day). In the morning to Paul's, where I heard a pretty good sermon, and thence to dinner with my Lady at the Wardrobe; and after much talk with her after dinner, I went to the Temple to Church, and there heard another: by the same token a boy, being asleep, fell down a high seat to the ground, ready to break his neck, but got no hurt. Thence to Graye's Inn walkes; and there met Mr. Pickering. His discourse most about the pride of the Duchesse of York; and how all the ladies envy my Lady Castlemaine. He intends to go to Portsmouth to meet the Queene this week; which is now the discourse and expectation of the

towne. So home, and no sooner come but Sir W. Warren comes to me to bring me a paper of Field's (with whom we have lately had a great deale of trouble at the office), being a bitter petition to the King against our office for not doing justice upon his complaint to us of embezzlement of the King's stores by one Turpin. I took Sir William to Sir W. Pen's (who was newly come from Walthamstowe), and there we read it and discoursed, but we do not much fear it, the King referring it to the Duke of York. So we drank a glass or two of wine, and so home.

14th. Being weary last night I lay very long in bed to-day, talking with my wife, and persuaded her to go to Brampton, and take Sarah with her, next week, to cure her ague by change of ayre, and we agreed all things therein. We rose, and at noon dined, and then we to the Paynter's, and there sat the last time for my little picture, which I hope will please me. Then to Paternoster Rowe to buy things for my wife against her going. So home and walked upon the leads with my wife, and whether she suspected anything or no I know not, but she is quite off of her going to Brampton, which something troubles me, and yet all my design was that I might the freer go to Portsmouth when the rest go to pay off the yards there, which will be very shortly. But I will get off if I can.

15th. With my wife, by coach, to the New Exchange,¹ to buy her some things; where we saw

¹ "To the north of Durham Place," says Pennant, "stood the *New Exchange*, which was built under the auspices of our monarch in 1608, out of the rubbish of the old stables of Durham House. It was built somewhat on the model of the Royal Exchange, with cellars beneath, a walk above, and rows of shops over that, filled chiefly with milliners, sempstresses, and the like. This was a fashionable place of resort."

"He has a lodging in the Strand . . . to watch when ladies

some new-fashion pettycoats of sarcenett, with a black broad lace printed round the bottom and before, very handsome, and my wife had a mind to one of them, but we did not then buy one.

17th. To Mr. Holliard's in the morning, thinking to be let blood, but he was gone out. So to White Hall, thinking to have had a Seale at Privy Seale, but my Lord did not come. Sir W. Batten in the evening sent for me to tell me that he had this day spoke to the Duke about raising our houses, and he hath given us leave to do it, at which, being glad, I went home merry.

18th. This morning sending the boy down into the cellar for some beer I followed him with a cane, and did there beat him for his staying of arrands and other faults, and his sister came to me down and begged for him. So I forebore, and afterwards, in my wife's chamber, did there talk to Jane how much I did love the boy for her sake, and how much it do concern to correct the boy for his faults, or else he would be undone. So at last she was well pleased. This morning Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Batten and I met at the office, and did conclude of our going to Portsmouth next week, in which my mind is at a great loss what to do with my wife, for I cannot persuade her to go to Brampton, and I am loth to leave her at home.

19th. This morning, before we sat, I went to Aldgate; and at the corner shop, a draper's, I stood, and did see Barkestead, Okey, and Corbet, drawne towards the gallows at Tiburne; and there they were hanged and quartered. They all looked very cheerful; but I hear they all die defending what

are gone to the china houses, or to the *Exchange*, that he may meet them by chance and give them presents, some two or three hundred pounds worth of toys, to be laughed at."—BEN JONSON, *The Silent Woman*, act i. sc. 1. (M. B.)

they did to the King to be just; which is very strange. In the evening did get a bever, an old one, but a very good one, of Sir W. Batten, for which I must give him something; but I am very well pleased with it.

20th (Lord's day). My intention being to go this morning to White Hall to hear South, my Lord Chancellor's chaplain, the famous preacher and orator of Oxford, (who the last Lord's day did sink down in the pulpit before the King, and could not proceed,) it did rain, and the wind against me, that I could by no means get a boat or coach to carry me; and so I staid at Paul's, where the Judges did all meet, and heard a sermon, it being the first Sunday of the terme; but they had a very poor sermon. So to my Lady's and dined, and so to White Hall to Sir G. Carteret, and so to the Chappell, where I challenged my pew as Clerke of the Privy Seale and had it, and then walked home with Mr. Blagrove to his old house in the Fishyard, and there he had a pretty kinswoman that sings, and we did sing some holy things, and afterwards others came in and so I left them, and by water through the bridge (which did trouble me) home, and so to bed.

21st. This morning I attempted to persuade my wife to go to Brampton this week, but she would not, and seeing that I could keep it no longer from her, I told her that I was resolved to go to Portsmouth to-morrow. At noon dined with my Lord Crew; and after dinner went up to Sir Thos. Crew's chamber, who is still ill. He tells me how my Lady Duchesse of Richmond¹ and Castlemaine had a falling out the other day; and she calls the latter Jane Shore, and did hope to see her come to the same end that she did. Coming down again to my

¹ Mary, daughter to George Duke of Buckingham; wife of James, fourth Duke of Lennox, and third Duke of Richmond.

Lord, he told me that news was come that the Queene is landed; at which I took leave, and by coach hurried to White Hall, the bells ringing in several places; but I found there no such matter, nor anything like it. Home, and there I found my Lady Jemimah, and Anne, and Mademoiselle come to see my wife, whom I left, and to talk with Joyce about a project I have of his and my joyning, to get some money for my brother Tom and his kinswoman to help forward with her portion if they should marry. I mean in buying of tallow of him at a low rate for the King, and Tom should have the profit; but he tells me the profit will be considerable, at which I was troubled, but I have agreed with him to serve some in my absence.

22nd. After taking leave of my wife, which we could hardly do kindly, because of her mind to go along with me, Sir W. Pen and I took coach and so over the bridge to Lambeth, W. Bodham and Tom Hewet going as clerkes to Sir W. Pen, and my Will for me. Here we got a dish of buttered eggs, and there staid till Sir G. Carteret came to us from White Hall, who brought Dr. Clerke with him, at which I was very glad, and so we set out, and I was very much pleased with his company, and were very merry all the way. We came to Gilford and there passed our time in the garden, cutting of sparagus for supper, the best that ever I eat in my life but in the house last year. Supped well, and the Doctor and I to bed together, calling cozens from his name and my office.

23d. Up early, and to Petersfield, and there dined well; and thence got a countryman to guide us by Havant, to avoid going through the Forest; but he carried us much out of the way, and upon our coming we sent away an express to Sir W. Batten to stop his coming, which I did project to make good

my oathe, that my wife should come if any of our wives came, which my Lady Batten did intend to do with her husband. The Doctor and I lay together at Wiard's, the chyrurgeons, in Portsmouth, his wife a very pretty woman. We lay very well and merrily; in the morning, concluding him to be of the eldest blood and house of the Clerkes, because that all the fleas came to him and not to me.

24th. Up and to Sir G. Carteret's lodgings at Mrs. Stephens's, where we keep our table all the time we are here. Thence all of us to the Pay-house; but the books not being ready, we went to church to the lecture, where there was my Lord Ormond and Manchester, and much London company, though not so much as I expected. Here we had a very good sermon upon this text: "In love serving one another;" which pleased me very well. No news of the Queene at all. So to dinner; and then to the Pay all the afternoon. Then W. Pen and I walked to the King's Yard, and there lay at Mr. Tippetts's, where exceeding well treated.

25th. All the morning at Portsmouth, at the Pay, and then to dinner, and again to the Pay; and at night got the Doctor to go lie with me, and much pleased with his company; but I was much troubled in my eyes, by reason of the healths I have this day been forced to drink.

26th. Sir George and I, and his clerk Mr. Stephens, and Mr. Holt our guide, over to Gosport; and so rode to Southampton. In our way, besides my Lord Southampton's¹ parks and lands, which in

¹ Tichfield House, erected by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, on the site of an Abbey of Premonstratenses, granted to him with their estates, 29th Henry VIII. Upon the death of his descendant, Thomas, Earl of Southampton, and Lord Treasurer, without issue male, the house and manor were allotted to his eldest daughter Elizabeth, wife of Edmund, first Earl of Gainsborough; and their

one viewe we could see 6000*l.* per annum, we observed a little church-yard, where the graves are accustomed to be all sowed with sage. At Southampton we went to the Mayor's and there dined, and had sturgeon of their own catching the last week, which do not happen in twenty years, and it was well ordered. They brought us also some caveare, which I attempted to order, but all to no purpose, for they had neither given it salt enough, nor are the seedes of the roe broke, but are all in berries. The towne is one most gallant street, and is walled round with stone, &c., and Bevis's picture upon one of the gates; many old walls of religious houses, and the keye, well worth seeing. After dinner to horse again, being in nothing troubled but the badness of my hat, which I borrowed to save my beaver.

27th (Sunday). Sir W. Pen got trimmed before me, and so took the coach to Portsmouth to wait on my Lord Steward to church, and sent the coach for me back again. So I rode to church, and met my Lord Chamberlaine upon the walls of the garrison, who owned and spoke to me. I followed him in the crowde of gallants through the Queene's lodgings to chappell; the rooms being all rarely furnished, and escaped hardly being set on fire yesterday. At chappell we had a most excellent and eloquent sermon. By coach to the Yard, and then on board the Swallow in the dock hear our navy chaplain preach a sad sermon, full of nonsense and false Latin; but prayed for the Right Honourable the principall officers. Visited the Mayor, Mr. Timbrell, our anchor-smith, who showed us the present they have for the Queene; which is a salt-sellar of silver, the walls

only son dying *s. p. m.*, the property devolved to his sister Elizabeth, married to Henry, Duke of Portland, whose grandson, the third Duke, alienated it to Mr. Delme.

christall, with four eagles and four greyhounds standing up at the top to bear up a dish ; which indeed is one of the neatest pieces of plate that ever I saw, and the case is very pretty also.¹ This evening came a merchantman in the harbour, which we hired at London to carry horses to Portugall ; but Lord ! what running there was to the seaside to hear what news, thinking it had come from the Queene.

28th. The Doctor and I begun philosophy discourse exceeding pleasant. He offers to bring me into the college of virtuosoës and my Lord Brouncker's acquaintance, and show me some anatomy, which makes me very glad ; and I shall endeavour it, when I come to London. Sir W. Pen much troubled upon letters came last night. Showed me one of Dr. Owen's to his son,² whereby it appears his son is much perverted in his opinion by him ; which I now perceive is one thing that hath put Sir William so long off the hooks.

29th. At the pay all the morning, and so to dinner ; and then to it again in the afternoon, and after our work was done, Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen and I walked forth, and I spied Mrs. Pierce and another lady passing by. So I left them and went to the ladies, and walked with them up and down, and took them to Mrs. Stephens, and there gave them wine and sweetmeats, and were very merry ; and then comes the Doctor, and we carried them by coach to their lodging, which was very poor, but the best they could get, and such as made much mirth among us. So I appointed one to watch when the gates of the towne were ready to be shut, and to give us notice ; and so the Doctor and I staid with them playing and laughing, and at last were forced to bid good

¹ A salt-cellar answering this description is preserved at the Tower.

² The celebrated Quaker.

night for fear of being locked into the towne all night. So we walked to the yarde, designing how to prevent our going to London to-morrow, that we might be merry with these ladies, which I did. So to supper and merrily to bed.

30th. This morning Sir G. Carteret came down to the yarde, and there we mustered over all the men and determined of some regulations in the yarde, and then to dinner, all the officers of the yarde with us, and after dinner walk to Portsmouth, there to pay off the *Successe*, which we did pretty early, and so I took leave of Sir W. Pen, he desiring to know whither I went, but I would not tell him. I went to the ladies, and there took them and walked to the Mayor's to show them the present, and then to the Docke, where Mr. Tippetts made much of them, and thence back again, the Doctor being come to us to their lodgings, whither came our supper by my appointment, and we very merry, playing at cards and laughing very merry till 12 o'clock at night, and so having staid so long (which we had resolved to stay till they bade us be gone), which yet they did not do but by consent, we bade them good night, and so past the guards, and went to the Doctor's lodgings, and there lay with him, our discourse being much about the quality of the lady with Mrs. Pierce, she being somewhat old and handsome, and painted and fine, and had a very handsome mayde with her. This afternoon after dinner comes Mr. Stephenson, one of the burgesses of the towne, to tell me that the Mayor and burgesses did desire my acceptance of a burgess-ship, and were ready at the Mayor's to make me one. So I went, and there they were all ready, and did with much civility give me my oathe, and after the oathe, did by custom shake me all by the hand. So I took them to a taverne and made them drink, and paying the reckoning, went away. It cost

me a piece in gold to the Town Clerke, and 10s. to the Bayliffes, and spent 6s.

May 1st. Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen, and myself, with our clerks, set out this morning from Portsmouth very early, and got by noon to Petersfield; several officers of the Yarde accompanying us so far. Here we dined and were merry. At dinner comes my Lord Carlingford¹ from London, going to Portsmouth: tells us that the Duchesse of York is brought to bed of a girle, at which I find nobody pleased; and that Prince Rupert and the Duke of Buckingham are sworne of the Privy Councell. He himself made a dish with egges of the butter of the Sparagus, which is very fine meat, which I will practise hereafter. To horse again, and got to Gilford, where after supper I to bed, having this day been offended by Sir W. Pen's foolish talk, and I offending him with my answers. Among others he in discourse complaining of want of confidence, did ask me to lend him a grain or two, which I told him I thought he was better stored with than myself, before Sir George. So that I see I must keep a greater distance than I have done. To bed all alone, and my Will in the truckle bed.²

2nd. Early to coach again and to Kingston, where we baited a little and got early to London, and I

¹ Theobald second Viscount Taaffe, created Earl of Carlingford, co. Louth, 1661-2.

² According to the original Statutes of Corpus Christi Coll. Oxon, a Scholar slept in a *truckle bed* below each Fellow. Called also "a trindle bed." Compare Hall's description of an obsequious tutor:

"He lieth in a truckle bed
While his young master lieth o'er his head."

Satires, ii. 6, 5.

The bed was drawn in the daytime under the high bed of the tutor. See Wordsworth's "University Life in the Eighteenth Century." (M. B.)

found all well at home. I to Dr. Clerke's lady, and gave her her letter and token. She is a very fine woman, and what with her person and the number of fine ladies that were with her, I was much out of countenance, and could hardly carry myself like a man among them; but however, I staid till my courage was up again, and talked to them, and viewed her house, which is most pleasant, and so drank and good night.

3rd. Sir W. Pen and I by coach to St. James's, and there to the Duke's Chamber, who had been a-hunting this morning and is come back again. To dinner to my Lady Sandwich, and Sir Thomas Crew's children coming thither, I took them and all my Ladys to the Tower and showed them the lions¹ and all that was to be shown, Sir Thomas Crew's children being as pretty and the best behaved that ever I saw of their age. Thence, at the goldsmith's, took my picture in little, which is now done, home with me, and pleases me exceedingly and my wife.

4th. Mr. Holliard came to me and let me blood, about sixteen ounces, I being exceedingly full of blood and very good. I begun to be sick; but lying upon my back I was presently well again, and did give him 5s. for his pains. After dinner, my arm tied up with a black ribbon, I walked with my wife to my brother Tom's; our boy waiting on us with his sword, which this day he begins to wear, to outdo Sir W. Pen's boy, who this day, and Sir W. Batten's too, begin to wear new livery; but I do take mine to be the neatest of them all. I led my wife to Mrs. Turner's pew, and the church being full, it being to hear a Doctor who is to preach a probacon sermon, I went out to the Temple and there walked, and so when church was done my wife and I walked to

¹ Hence the phrases "to lionize," "to see the lions." (M. B.)

Grayes Inne, to observe fashions of the ladies, because of my wife's making some clothes.

5th. My arme not being well, I staid within all the morning. My wife gone to buy some things for herself, and a gowne for me to dress myself in.

6th. This morning I got my seat set up on the leads, which pleases me well.

7th. Walked to Westminster ; where I understand the news that Mr. Montagu is this last night come to the King with news, that he left the Queene and fleete in the Bay of Biscay, coming this wayward ; and that he believes she is now at the Isle of Scilly. So at noon to my Lord Crew's and there dined, and after dinner Sir Thos. Crew and I talked together, and among other instances of the simple light discourse that sometimes is in the Parliament House, he told me how in the late business of Chymny money, when all occupiers were to pay, it was questioned whether women were under that name to pay, and somebody rose and said that they were not occupiers, but occupied. Thence to Paul's Church Yard ; where seeing my Ladys Sandwich and Carteret, and my wife (who this day made a visit the first time to my Lady Carteret), come by coach, and going to Hide Parke, I was resolved to follow them ; and so went to Mrs. Turner's : and thence found her out at the Theatre, where I saw the last act of the " Knight of the Burning Pestle,"¹ which pleased me not at all. And so after the play done, she and The. Turner and Mrs. Lucin and I, in her coach to the Parke ; and there found them out, and spoke to them ; and observed many fine ladies, and staid till all were gone almost.

8th. At the office all the morning doing business alone, and returned home, and was overtaken by Sir

¹ A Comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

G. Carteret in his coach. He told me that the Queene and the fleet were in Mount's Bay on Monday last; and that the Queene endures her sickness pretty well. He also told me how Sir John Lawson hath done some execution upon the Turkes in the Straight, of which I am glad, and told the news the first on the Exchange, and was much followed by merchants to tell it. Sir G. Carteret, among other discourse, tells me that it is Mr. Coventry that is to come to us as a Commissioner of the Navy; at which he is much vexed, and cries out upon Sir W. Pen, and threatens him highly. And looking upon his lodgings, which are now enlarging, he in passion cried, "*Guarda mi spada*; for, by God, I may chance to keep him in Ireland, when he is there:" for Sir W. Pen is going thither with my Lord Lieutenant. But it is my design to keep much in with Sir George; and I think I have begun very well towards it.

9th. Up and to my office, and so to dinner at home, and then to Westminster. Thence to Mr. de Cretz, and there saw some good pieces that he hath copyed of the King's pieces, some of Raphael and Michael Angelo; and I have borrowed an Elizabeth of his copying to hang up in my house. Thence with Salisbury, who I met there, into Covent Garden to an alehouse, to see a picture that hangs there, which is offered for 20s., and I offered fourteen—but it is worth much more money—but did not buy it, I having no mind to break my oathe. Thence to see an Italian puppet play, that is within the rayles there, which is very pretty, the best that ever I saw, and great resort of gallants. So to the Temple and by water home, and so walk upon the leades, and in the dark there played upon my flageolette, and so to supper and to bed. The Duke of York went last night to Portsmouth; so that I believe the Queene is near.

10th. At noon to the Wardrobe; there dined. My Lady told me how my Lady Castlemaine do speak of going to lie in at Hampton Court; which she and all our ladies are much troubled at, because of the King's being forced to show her countenance in the sight of the Queene when she comes. In the evening Sir G. Carteret and I did hire a ship for Tangier, and other things together; and I find that he do single me out to join with me apart from the rest, which I am much glad of.

11th (Lord's day). To our church in the morning, where, our Minister being out of towne, a dull, flat Presbiter preached. Dined at home, and my wife's brother with us, we having a good dish of stewed beefe of Jane's own dressing, which was well done, and a piece of sturgeon of a barrel sent me by Captain Cocke. In the afternoon to White Hall; and there walked an houre or two in the Parke, where I saw the King now out of mourning, in a suit laced with gold and silver, which it was said was out of fashion. Thence to the Wardrobe; and there consulted with the ladies about our going to Hampton Court to-morrow.

12th. Mr. Townsend called us up by four o'clock; and by five the three ladies, my wife and I, and Mr. Townsend, his son and daughter, were got to the barge and set out. We walked from Mortlake to Richmond, and so to boat again. And from Teddington to Hampton Court Mr. Townsend and I walked again. And then met the ladies, and were showed the whole house by Mr. Marriott; which is indeed nobly furnished, particularly the Queene's bed, given her by the States of Holland; a looking-glasse sent by the Queene-mother from France, hanging in the Queene's chamber, and many brave pictures. And so to barge again; and got home about eight at night very well. So my wife and I took leave of

my Ladies, and home by a hackney-coach, the easiest that ever I met with.

14th. Dined at the Wardrobe; and after dinner, sat talking an hour or two alone with my Lady. She is afeard that my Lady Castlemaine will keep still with the King, and I am afeard she will not, for I love her well. Thence to my brother's, and finding him in a lie about the lining of my new morning gowne, saying that it was the same with the outside, I was very angry with him and parted so. So home after an hour stay at Paul's Churchyard, and there came Mr. Morelock of Chatham, and brought me a stately cake, and I perceive he has done the same to the rest, of which I was glad; so to bed.

15th. To Westminster; and at the Privy Seale I saw Mr. Coventry's seal for his being Commissioner with us at which I know not yet whether to be glad or otherwise. At night, all the bells of the towne rung, and bonfires made for the joy of the Queene's arrival, who landed at Portsmouth last night. But I do not see much thorough joy, but only an indifferent one, in the hearts of people, who are much discontented at the pride and luxury of the Court, and running in debt.

17th. To the Wardrobe to dinner, where dined Mrs. Sanderson, the mother of the mayds, and after dinner my Lady and she and I on foot to Pater Noster Rowe to buy a petticoat against the Queene's coming for my Lady, of plain satin, and other things; and being come back again, we there met Mr. Nathaniel Crew at the Wardrobe with a young gentleman, a friend and fellow student of his, and of a good family, Mr. Knightly, and known to the Crews, of whom my Lady privately told me she hath some thoughts of a match for my Lady Jemimah. I like the person very well, and he hath 2,000*l.* per annum. Thence to the office, and thence I walked

to my brother Tom's to see a velvet cloake, which I buy of Mr. Moore. It will cost me 8*l.* 10*s.*; he bought it for 6*l.* 10*s.*, but it is worth my money.

18th (Whitsunday). By water to White Hall, and there to chappell in my pew belonging to me as Clerke of the Privy Seale; and there I heard a most excellent sermon of Dr. Hacket,¹ Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, upon these words: "He that drinketh this water shall never thirst." We had an excellent anthem, sung by Captain Cooke and another, and brave musique. And then the King came down and offered, and took the sacrament upon his knees; a sight very well worth seeing. Hence with Sir G. Carteret to his lodging to dinner with his Lady and one Mr. Brevin, a French Divine, we were very merry, and good discourse after dinner, and so to chappell again; and there had another good anthem of Captain Cooke's. Thence to the Councill-chamber; where the King and Councill sat till almost eleven o'clock at night, and I forced to walk up and down the gallerys till that time of night. They were reading all the bills over that are to pass to-morrow at the House, before the King's going out of towne and proroguing the House. At last the Councill risen, and Sir G. Carteret telling me what the Councill hath ordered about the ships designed to carry horse from Ireland to Portugall, which is now altered. I got a coach and so home, sending the boat away without me. At home I found my wife discontented at my being abroad, but I pleased her. She was in her new suit of black sarcenet and yellow petticoate very pretty. So to bed.

19th. Long in bed, sometimes scolding with my wife, and then pleased again, and at last up, and put on my riding cloth suit, and a camelott coat new,

¹ John Hacket, elected Bishop of that see 1661. Ob. 1670.

which pleases me well enough. To the Temple, so home, the shops being but some shut and some open. I hear that the House of Commons do think much that they should be forced to huddle over business this morning against the afternoon, for the King to pass their Acts, that he may go out of town. But he, I hear since, was forced to stay till almost nine o'clock at night before he could have done, and then he prorogued them; and so to Gilford, and lay there. Home, and Mr. Hunt dined with me, and were merry. After dinner Sir W. Pen and his daughter, and I and my wife by coach to the theatre, and there in a box saw "The Little Thiefe" well done. Thence to Moorefields, and walked and eat some cheesecake and gammon of bacon, but when I was come home I was sick. So my wife walking and singing upon the leads till very late, it being pleasant and moonshine, and so to bed.

20th. Sir W. Pen and I did a little business at the office, and so, home again. Then comes Dean Fuller;¹ and I am most pleased with his company and goodness. At last parted, and my wife and I by coach to the opera, and there saw the 2nd part of "The Siege of Rhodes," but it is not so well done as when Roxalana was there, who, it is said, is now owned by my Lord of Oxford.² Thence to Tower-wharfe, and there took boat, and we all walked to Halfeway House, and there eat and drank, and were pleasant, and so finally home again in the evening, and so good night, this being a very pleasant life that we now lead, and have long done; the Lord be blessed, and make us thankful. But, though I am much against too much spending, yet I do think it best to enjoy some degree of pleasure now that we

¹ Dean of St. Patrick's.

² For an account of her pretended marriage with the Earl of Oxford, see Grammont, "Memoirs." (M. B.)

have health, money, and opportunity, rather than to leave pleasures to old age or poverty, when we cannot have them so properly.

21st. My wife and I to my Lord's lodgings, where she and I staid walking in White Hall garden. And in the Privy-garden saw the finest smocks and linnen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom, that ever I saw; and did me good to look upon them. So to Wilkinson's, she and I and Sarah, where I had a good quarter of lamb and a salat. Here Sarah told me how the King dined at my Lady Castlemaine's, and supped, every day and night the last week; and that the night that the bonfires were made for joy of the Queene's arrivall, the King was there; but there was no fire at her door, though at all the rest of the doors almost in the street; which was much observed: and that the King and she did send for a pair of scales and weighed one another; and she, being with child, was said to be heaviest. But she is now a most disconsolate creature, and comes not out of doors, since the King's going. But we went to the theatre to "The French Dancing Master," and there with much pleasure gazed upon her (Lady Castlemaine); but it troubles us to see her look dejectedly and slighted by people already. The play pleased us very well; but Lacy's part, the Dancing Master, the best in the world.

22d. This morning comes an order from the Secretary of Sate, Nicholas, for me to let one Mr. Lee, a Councillor, view what papers I have relating to passages of the late times, wherein Sir H. Vane's hand is employed, in order to the drawing up his charge; which I did. At noon he, with Sir W. Pen and his daughter, dined with me, and he to his work again, and we by coach to the theatre and saw "Love in a Maze." The play hath little in it but Lacy's part of a country fellow, which he did to admiration. So home, and supped with Sir W. Pen. This night

we had each of us a letter from Captain Teddiman from the Streights, of a peace made upon good terms, by Sir J. Lawson, with the Argier men, which is most excellent news. He hath also sent each of us some anchovies, olives, and muscatt; but I know not yet what that is, and am ashamed to ask. After supper home, and to bed, resolving to make up this week in seeing plays and pleasure, and so fall to business next week again for a great while.

23rd. At the office good part of the morning, and then about noon with my wife on foot to the Wardrobe. I staid below in the parler reading of the King's and Chancellor's late speeches at the proroguing of the Houses of Parliament. And while I was reading, news was brought me that my Lord Sandwich is come and gone up to my Lady, which put me into great suspense of joy, so I went up waiting my Lord's coming out of my Lady's chamber, which by and by he did, and looks very well, and my soul is glad to see him. He very merry, and hath left the King and Queene at Portsmouth, and is come up to stay here till next Wednesday, and then to meet the King and Queene at Hampton Court. So to dinner; and my Lord mighty merry; among other things, saying that the Queene is a very agreeable lady, and paints still. After dinner I showed him my letter from Teddiman about the news from Argier, which pleases him exceedingly; and he writ one to the Duke of York about it, and sent it express. There coming much company after dinner to my Lord, my wife and I slunk away to the opera, where we saw "Witt in a Constable," the first time that it is acted; but so silly a play I never saw I think in my life. After it was done, my wife and I to the puppet play in Covent Garden, which I saw the other day, and indeed it is very pleasant. Here among the fiddlers I first saw a dulcimere played on with sticks knocking of the strings, and is very pretty.

24th. To the Wardrobe, and there again spoke with my Lord, and saw W. Howe, who is grown a very pretty and is a sober fellow. Thence abroad with Mr. Creed, of whom I informed myself of all I had a mind to know. Among other things, the great difficulty my Lord hath been in all this summer for lack of good and full orders from the King ; and I doubt our Lords of the Councell do not mind things as the late powers did, but their pleasures or profit more. That the Juego de Toros¹ is a simple sport, yet the greatest in Spaine. That the Queene hath given no rewards to any of the captains or officers, but only to my Lord Sandwich ; and that was a bag of gold, which was no honourable present, of about 1,400*l.* sterling. How recluse the Queene hath ever been, and all the voyage never come upon the deck, nor put her head out of her cabin ; but did love my Lord's musique, and would send for it down to the state-room, and she sit in her cabin within hearing of it. That my Lord was forced to have some clashing with the Council of Portugall about payment of the portion, before he could get it ; which was, besides Tangier and a free trade in the Indys, two millions of crownes, half now, and the other half in twelve months. But they have brought but little money ; but the rest in sugars and other commoditys, and bills of exchange. That the King of Portugall is a very foole almost, and his mother do all, and he is a very poor Prince. After a morning draft at the Star in Cheapside, I took him to the Exchange, thence home, but my wife having dined, I took him to Fish Street, and there we had a couple of lobsters, and dined upon them, and much discourse.

25th (Lord's day). To trimming myself, which I have this week done every morning, with a pumice

¹ Juego de Toros. Bull-fights. See 7th Nov. 1661. (M. B.)

stone, which I learnt of Mr. Marsh, when I was last at Portsmouth; and I find it very easy, speedy, and cleanly, and shall continue the practice of it. To church, and heard a good sermon of Mr. Woodcocke's at our church; only in his latter prayer for a woman in childbed, he prayed that God would deliver her from the hereditary curse of childe-bearing, which seemed a pretty strange expression. Dined at home, and Mr. Creed with me. This day I had the first dish of pease I have had this year. After discourse he and I abroad, and walked up and down, and looked into many churches, among others Mr. Baxter's at Blackfryers. Then to the Wardrobe and out with Captn. Ferrers to Charing Cross; and there at the Triumph taverne he showed me some Portugall ladys, which are come to towne before the Queene. They are not handsome, and their farthingales a strange dress. Many ladies and persons of quality come to see them. I find nothing in them that is pleasing; and I see they have learnt to kiss and look freely up and down already, and I do believe will soon forget the recluse practice of their own country. They complain much for lack of good water to drink. The King's guards and some City companies do walk up and downe the towne these five or six days; which makes me think, and they do say, there are some plots in laying. God keep us.

26th. Up by four o'clock in the morning, and fell to the preparing of some accounts for my Lord of Sandwich. By and by, by appointment comes Mr. Moore, and, by what appears to us at present, we found that my Lord is above 7,000*l.* in debt, and that he hath money coming into him that will clear all, and so we think him clear, but very little money in his purse. So to my Lord's, and after he was ready, we spent an hour with him, giving him an account thereof; and he having some 6,000*l.* in his hands,

remaining of the King's, he is resolved to make use of that, and get off of it as well as he can, which I like well of, for else I fear he will scarce get beforehand again a great while. Thence home, and to the Trinity House; where the Brethren (who have been at Deptford choosing a new Maister; which is Sir J. Minnes, notwithstanding Sir W. Batten did contend highly for it: at which I am not a little pleased, because of his proud lady) about three o'clock came hither, and so to dinner. I seated myself close by Mr. Prin, who, in discourse with me, fell upon what records he hath of the lust and wicked lives of the nuns heretofore in England, and showed me out of his pocket one wherein thirty nuns for their lust were ejected of their house, being not fit to live there, and by the Pope's command to be put, however, into other nunnerys. I could not stay to end dinner with them, but rose, and privately went out, and by water to my brother's, and thence to take my wife to the Redd Bull,¹ where we saw Dr. Faustus, but so wretchedly and poorly done, that we were sick of it, and the worse because by a former resolution it is to be the last play we are to see till Michaelmas. Thence homewards by coach, through Moorefields, where we stood awhile, and saw the wrestling. At home, got my lute upon the leades, and there played, and so to bed.

27th. To my Lord this morning; and thence to my brother's, where I found my father, poor man, come, which I was glad to see. He tells me his alterations of the house and garden at Brampton, which please me well.

28th. Up and down in several places about business with Mr. Creed, home about noon, and by and by comes my father by appointment to dine with me,

¹ In St. John's Street, Clerkenwell. (M. B.)

which we did very merrily, I desiring to make him as merry as I can, while the poor man is in towne. After dinner comes my uncle Wight and sat awhile, and thence we three to the Mum House at Leaden-hall.

29th. At home all the morning. At noon to the Wardrobe, and dined with my Lady, and after dinner staid long talking with her; then homeward, and in Lumbard Streete was called out of a window by Alderman Backwell, where I went, and saluted his lady, a very pretty woman. Here was Mr. Creed, and it seems they have been under some disorder in feare of a fire at the next door, and had been removing their goods, but the fire was over before I came. Thence home, and with my wife and the two mayds, and the boy, took boat and to Foxhall,¹ where I had not been a great while. To the old Spring Garden, and there walked long, and the wenches gathered pinks. Here we staid, and seeing that we could not have anything to eate, but very dear, and with long stay, we went forth again without any notice taken of us, and so we might have done if we had had anything. Thence to the new one, where I never was before, which much exceeds the other; and here we also walked, and the boy

¹ A manor in Surrey, properly Fulke's Hall, and so called from Fulke de Breaute, the celebrated mercenary follower of King John. Afterwards called Vauxhall or Foxhall. The gardens were formed about 1661, and originally the "New Spring Gardens," to distinguish them from the "Old Spring Garden" at Vauxhall, and the "Old Spring Gardens" at Charing Cross. See Evelyn's "Diary," 2nd July, 1661. Balthazar Monconys, who visited England early in the reign of Charles II., describes the gardens as then much frequented, and having grass, and sand walks, and squares of roses, beans, and asparagus, divided by gooseberry hedges. Sir Samuel Morland, in 1675, obtained a lease of the place. King Charles had made Morland his Master of Mechanics, and here he built a fine room, the inside all of looking-glass and fountains, very pleasant to behold. (M. B.)

crept through the hedge and gathered abundance of roses, and, after a long walk, passed out of doors as we did in the other place, and here we had cakes and powdered beef¹ and ale, and so home again by water with much pleasure. This day, being the King's birth-day, was very solemnly observed; and the more, for that the Queene this day comes to Hampton Court. In the evening, bonfires were made, but nothing to the great number that was heretofore at the burning of the Rump.

30th. This morning I made up my accounts, and find myself de claro worth about 530*l.*, and no more, so little have I increased it since my last reckoning; but I confess I have laid out much money in clothes. Upon a suddaine motion I took my wife, and Sarah and Will by water, with some victuals with us, as low as Gravesend, intending to have gone into Hope to the Royal James, to have seen the ship and Mr. Shepley, but meeting Mr. Shepley in a hoy, bringing up my Lord's things, she and I went on board, and sailed up with them as far as half-way tree, very glad to see Mr. Shepley. Here we saw a little Turke and a negroe, which are intended for pages to the two young ladies. Many birds and other pretty noveltys there was, but I was afeard of being louzy, and so took boat again, and got to London before them, all the way, coming and going, reading in the "Wallflower" with great pleasure. So home, and thence to the Wardrobe, where Mr. Shepley was come with the things. Here I staid talking with my Lady, who is preparing to go to-morrow to Hampton Court. So home, and at ten o'clock at night Mr. Shepley came to sup with me. So we had a dish of mackerell and pease, and so he bid us good night, going to lie on board the hoy.

¹ Powdered beef, *i.e.* salted beef. (M. B.)

31st. Lay long in bed, and so up to make up my Journall for these two or three days past. Then came Anthony Joyce, who duns me for money for the tallow which he served in lately by my desire, which vexes me. By and by to White Hall, and so home, and had Sarah to comb my head clean, which I found so foul with powdering and other troubles, that I am resolved to try how I can keep my head dry without powder; and I did also in a suddaine fit cut off all my beard, which I had been a great while bringing up, only that I may with my pumice-stone do my whole face, as I now do my chin, and to save time, which I find a very easy way and gentle. So she also washed my feet in a bath of herbes, and so to bed. The Queene is brought a few days since to Hampton Court; and all people say of her to be a very fine and handsome lady, and very discreet; and that the King is pleased enough with her: which, I fear, will put Madam Castlemaine's nose out of joynt. The Court is wholly now at Hampton. A peace with Argier¹ is lately made; which is also good news. My Lord Sandwich is lately come with the Queene from sea, very well and in good repute. The Act for Uniformity is lately printed, which, it is thought, will make mad work among the Presbyterian ministers. People of all sides are very much discontented; some thinking themselves used, contrary to promise, too hardly; and the other, that they are not rewarded so much as they expected by the King. God keep us all. I have by a late oathe obliged myself from wine and playes, of which I find good effect.

June 1st (Lord's day). At church in the morning. A stranger made a very good sermon. Dined at home, and Mr. Spong came to see me; so he and I

¹ Algiers. (M. B.)

sat down a little to sing some French psalms. To church again, where a Presbyter made a sad and long sermon, which vexed me.

2nd. Up early about business and then to the Wardrobe, and spoke to my Lord about the exchange of the crusados¹ into sterling money, and other matters. This day my wife put on her slasht waste-coate, which is very pretty.

3rd. Up by four o'clock and to my business in my chamber, to even accounts with my Lord and myself, and very fain I would become master of 1,000*l.*, but I have not above 530*l.* toward it yet. At the office all the morning, and Mr. Coventry brought his patent and took his place with us this morning. Upon our making a contract, I went, as I use to do, to draw the heads thereof, but Sir W. Pen most basely told me that the Comptroller is to do it, and so begun to employ Mr. Turner about it, at which I was much vexed, and begun to dispute; and what with the letter of the Duke's orders, and Mr. Barlow's letter, and the practice of our predecessors, which Sir G. Carteret knew best when he was Comptroller, it was ruled for me. What Sir J. Minnes will do when he comes I knowe not, but Sir W. Pen did it like a base raskall, and so I shall remember him while I live. After office done, I went down to the Towre Wharfe, where Mr. Creed and Shepley was ready with three chests of the crusados, being about 6,000*l.*, ready to bring to shore to my house, which they did, and put it in my further cellar, and Mr. Shepley took the key. I to my father and Dr. Williams and Tom

¹ Crusado, a Portuguese coin. It is named from a cross which it bears on one side, the arms of Portugal being on the other. It varied in value at different periods from 2*s.* 3*d.* to 4*s.*

"Believe me, I had rather lost my purse
Full of cruzados."

SHAKESPEARE, *Othello*, act iii. sc. 4. (M. B.)

Trice, by appointment, in the Old Bayly, to Short's, the alehouse, but could come to no terms with T. Trice. Thence to the Wardrobe, where I found my Lady come from Hampton Court, where the Queene hath used her very civilly; and my Lady tells me is a most pretty woman, at which I am glad. Yesterday (Sir R. Ford told me) the Aldermen of the City did attend her in their habits, and did present her with a gold cupp and 1,000*l.* in gold therein. But, he told me, that they are so poor in their Chamber, that they were faine to call two or three Aldermen to raise fines to make up this sum, among which was Sir W. Warren. Home and to bed, my mind troubled about Sir W. Pen, his playing the rogue with me to-day, as also about the charge of money that is in my house, which I had forgot; but I made the mayds to rise and light a candle, and set it in the dining-room, to scare away thieves, and so to sleep.

4th. Up early, and Mr. Moore comes to me and tells me that Mr. Barnwell is dead, which troubles me something, and the more for that I believe we shall lose Mr. Shepley's company. By and by Sir W. Batten and I by water to Woolwich; and there saw an experiment made of Sir R. Ford's Holland's yarne (about which we have lately had so much stir; and I have much concerned myself for our rope-maker, Mr. Hughes, who represented it as bad), and we found it to be very bad, and broke sooner than, upon a fair triall, five threads of that against four of Riga yarne; and also that some of it had old stuffe that had been tarred, covered over with new hemepe, which is such a cheat as hath not been heard of. I was glad of this discovery, because I would not have the King's workmen discouraged (as Sir W. Batten do most basely do) from representing the faults of merchants' goods, when there is any. To my Lord's, who I find resolved to buy Brampton

Manor of Sir Peter Ball, at which I am glad. Thence to White Hall, and showed Sir G. Carteret the cheat, and so to the Wardrobe, and there staid and supped with my Lady.

5th. To the office, where they were just sat down, and I showed them yesterday's discovery, and have got Sir R. Ford to be my enemy by it ; but I care not, for it is my duty, and so did get his bill stopped for the present. To dinner, and found Dr. Thos. Pepys at my house ; but I was called from dinner by a note from Mr. Moore to Alderman Backwell's, to see some thousands of my Lord's crusados weighed, and we find that 3,000 come to about 530*l*. or 40 generally. In the evening with Mr. Moore to Backwell's with another 1,200 crusados and saw them weighed, and so home and to bed.

6th. At my office all alone all the morning, and the smith being with me about other things, did open a chest that hath stood ever since I came to the office, in my office, and there we found a modell of a fine ship, which I long to know whether it be the King's or Mr. Turner's. At noon to the Wardrobe. Thence to my brother Tom's, where we found a letter from Pall that my mother is dangerously ill in fear of death, which troubles my father and me much, but I hope it is otherwise, the letter being four days old since it was writ.

7th. To the office, where all the morning, and I find Mr. Coventry is resolved to do much good, and to enquire into all the miscarriages of the office. At noon with him and Sir W. Batten to dinner at Trinity House ; where, among others, Sir J. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, was, who says that yesterday Sir H. Vane had a full hearing at the King's Bench, and is found guilty ; and that he did never hear any man argue more simply than he in all his life, and so others say. Sent for to Sir G. Carteret's, and there

talked with him a good while. I perceive, as he told me, were it not that Mr. Coventry had already feathered his nest in selling of places, he do like him very well, and hopes great good from him. But he complains so of lack of money, that my heart is very sad, under the apprehension of the fall of the office.

8th (Lord's day). To church, and there I found Mr. Mills come home out of the country again, and preached but a lazy sermon. Home and dined with my wife, and so to church again with her. Thence walked to my Lady's, and there supped with her, and merry, among other things, with the parrott which my Lord hath brought from the sea, which speaks very well, and cries Pall so pleasantly, that made my Lord give it my Lady Paulina; but my Lady, her mother, do not like it. Home, and observe my man Will to walk with his cloak flung over his shoulder, like a Ruffian, which, whether it was that he might not be seen to walk along with the footboy, I know not, but I was vexed at it; and coming home, and after prayers, I did ask him where he learned that immodest garbe, and he answered me that it was not immodest, or some such slight answer, at which I did give him two boxes on the eares, which I never did before, and so was after a little troubled at it.

9th. Early up and at the office with Mr. Hater, making my alphabet of contracts, upon the dispatch of which I am now very intent, for that I am resolved to enquire into the price of commodities. Dined at home, and after dinner to Greatorex's, and with him and another stranger to the Taverne, but I drank no wine. He recommended Bond, of our end of the towne, to teach me to measure timber, and some other things that I would learn, in order to my office.

10th. At the office all the morning, much business; and great hopes of bringing things, by Mr. Coventry's means, to a good condition in the office. Dined

at home, to the office again in the afternoon, but not meeting, as was intended, I went to my brother's and bookseller's, and other places about business, and paid off all for books to this day, and do not intend to buy any more of any kind a good while, though I had a great mind to have bought the King's works, as they are new printed in folio, and present it to my Lord; but I think it will be best to save the money. So home and to bed.

11th. At the office all the morning, Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and I about the Victualler's accounts. Then home to dinner and to the office again all the afternoon, Mr. Hater and I writing over my Alphabet faire, in which I took great pleasure to rule the lines and to have the capitall words wrote with red ink. So home and to supper. This evening Savill the Paynter came and did varnish over my wife's picture and mine, and I paid him for my little picture 3*l*., and so am clear with him.

12th. This morning I tried on my riding cloth suit with close knees, the first that ever I had; and I think they will be very convenient, if not too hot to wear any other open knees after them. At the office all the morning. Among many other businesses, I did get a vote signed by all, concerning my issuing of warrants, which they did not smell the use I intend to make of it; but it is to plead for my clerks to have their right of giving out all warrants, at which I am not a little pleased. But great difference happened between Sir G. Carteret and Mr. Coventry, about passing the Victualler's account, and whether Sir George is to pay the Victualler his money, or the Exchequer; Sir George claiming it to be his place to save his threepences. It ended in anger, and I believe will come to be a question before the King and Council. I did what I could to keep myself unconcerned in it, having some things

of my own to do before I would appear high in anything. Thence to dinner, by Mr. Gauden's invitation, to the Dolphin, where a good dinner ; but what is to myself a great wonder, that with ease I past the whole dinner without drinking a drop of wine. After dinner to the office, my head full of business, and so home, and it being the longest¹ day in the year, I made all my people go to bed by daylight. But after I was a-bed and asleep, a note came from my brother Tom to tell me that my cozen Anne Pepys, of Worcestershire, her husband is dead, and she married again, and her second husband² in town, and intends to come and see me to-morrow.

13th. Up by 4 o'clock in the morning, and read Cicero's Second Oration against Catiline, which pleased me exceedingly ; and more I discern therein than ever I thought was to be found in him ; but I perceive it was my ignorance, and that he is as good a writer as ever I read in my life. By and by to Sir G. Carteret's, to talk with him about yesterday's difference at the office ; and offered my service to look into my old books or papers that I have, that may make for him. He was well pleased therewith, and did much inveigh against Mr. Coventry ; telling me how he had done him service in the Parliament, when Prin had drawn up things against him for taking of money for places ; that he did at his desire, and upon his letters, keep him off from doing it. And many other things he told me, as how the King was beholden to him, and in what a miserable condition his family would be, if he should die before he hath cleared his accounts. Upon the whole, I do find that he do much esteem of me, and is my friend. Thence to my Lady's, and there dined with her, and

¹ According to the "old style:" the "new style" did not begin till 1752. (M. B.)

² Mr. Fisher. See 15th June. (M. B.)

after dinner some musique, and so home to my business, and in the evening my wife and I, and Sarah and the boy, a most pleasant walk to Halfway house, and so home and to bed.

14th. Up by four o'clock in the morning and upon business at my office. Then we sat down to business, and about 11 o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower-hill; and there, over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir Henry Vane¹ brought. A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the Sheriffe and others there; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused all the books of those that writ after him to be given the Sheriffe; and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself, and received the blow; but the scaffold was so crowded that we could not see it done. But Boreman, who had been upon the scaffold, came to us and told us, that first he began to speak of the irregular proceeding against him; that he was, against Magna Charta, denied to have his exceptions against the indictment allowed; and that there he was stopped by the Sheriffe. Then he drew out his paper of notes, and begun to tell them first his life; that he was born a gentleman,

¹ Sir Henry Vane was born 1612. Though he disapproved of the violence offered to the King's person, he accepted afterwards of a seat at the Council-board. At the Restoration, though both Houses voted for an act of indemnity in his favour, his conduct to Strafford, and the perseverance with which he had supported the republican cause, were not forgotten, and therefore he was arraigned and condemned on pretence of having compassed the late King's death. He is represented by Clarendon as a man of deep dissimulation, of quick conception, and great understanding, but Burnet speaks of him as a fearful man, whose head was darkened in his notions of religion. (M. B.)



that he was bred up and had the quality of a gentleman, and to make him in the opinion of the world more a gentleman, he had been, till he was seventeen years old, a good fellow, but then it pleased God to lay a foundation of grace in his heart, by which he was persuaded, against his worldly interest, to leave all preferment and go abroad, where he might serve God with more freedom. Then he was called home, and made a member of the Long Parliament; where he never did, to this day, any thing against his conscience, but all for the glory of God. Here he would have given them an account of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, but they so often interrupted him, that at last he was forced to give over: and so fell into prayer for England in generall, then for the churches in England, and then for the City of London: and so fitted himself for the block, and received the blow. He had a blister, or issue, upon his neck, which he desired them not hurt: he changed not his colour or speech to the last, but died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the right hand of Christ; and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner, and showed more of heate than cowardize, but yet with all humility and gravity. One asked him why he did not pray for the King. He answered, "Nay," says he, "you shall see I can pray for the King: I pray God bless him!" The King had given his body to his friends; and, therefore, he told them that he hoped they would be civil to his body when dead; and desired they would let him die like a gentleman and a Christian, and not crowded and pressed as he was. So to the office a little, and so to the Trinity-house all of us to dinner; and then to the office again all the afternoon till night. This day, I hear, my Lord Peter-

borough is come unexpected from Tangier, to give the King an account of the place, which, we fear, is in none of the best condition. We had also certain news to-day that the Spaniard is before Lisbone with thirteen sayle; six Dutch, and the rest his own ships; which will, I fear, be ill for Portugall. I writ a letter of all this day's proceedings to my Lord, at Hinchinbroke, who, I hear, is very well pleased with the work there.

15th (Lord's day). To church in the morning and home to dinner, where come my brother Tom and Mr. Fisher, my cozen, Nan Pepy's second husband, who, I perceive, is a very good-humoured man, an old cavalier, I made as much of him as I could, and were merry, and am glad she hath light of so good a man. They gone, to church again; but my wife not being dressed as I would have her, I was angry, and she, when she was out of doors in her way to church, returned home again vexed. But I to church, Mr. Mills, an ordinary sermon. So home, and found my wife and Sarah gone to a neighbour church, at which I was not much displeased. By and by she comes again, and, after a word or two, good friends. So to walk upon the leades, and to supper, and to bed.

16th. Up before four o'clock, and after some business took Will forth, and he and I walked through St. Catharine's and Ratcliffe (I think it is) by the waterside above a mile before we could get a boat, and so over the water in a scull (which I have not done a great while), and walked finally to Deptford, where I saw in what forwardness the work is for Sir W. Batten's house and mine, and it is almost ready. I also, with Mr. Davis, did view my cozen Joyce's tallow, and compared it with the Irish tallow we bought lately, and found ours much more white, but as soft as it; now what is the fault, or whether it be

or no a fault, I know not. So walked home again as far as over against the Towre, and so over and home. Then by water with my wife to the Wardrobe, and dined there; and in the afternoon with all the children by water to Greenwich, where I showed them the King's yacht, the house, and the parke, all very pleasant; and so to the tavern, and had the musique of the house, and so merrily home again.

17th. To the office, and at Sir W. Batten's, where we all met by chance and talked, and they drank wine; but I forebore all their healths. Sir John Minnes, I perceive, is most excellent company.

18th. Up early; and after reading a little in Cicero, to my office. To my Lord Crew's and dined with him; where I hear the courage of Sir H. Vane at his death is talked on every where as a miracle. I walked to Lilly's,¹ the painter's, where we saw among other rare things, the Duchesse of York, her whole body, sitting in state in a chair, in white sattin, and another of the King, that is not finished; most rare things. I did give the fellow something that showed them us, and promised to come some other time, and he would show me Lady Castlemaine's, which I could not then see, it being locked up! Thence to Wright's,² the painter's: but, Lord! the difference that is between their two works. After some merry discourse in the kitchen with my wife and mayds as I now-a-days often do, I being well pleased with both my mayds, to bed.

19th. Up by five o'clock, and while my man Will was getting himself ready to come up to me I took and played upon my lute a little. We sat long to-

¹ Peter Lely, the celebrated painter, afterwards knighted. Ob. 1680.

² Michael Wright, a native of Scotland, and portrait-painter of some note, settled in London.

day, and had a great private business before us about contracting with Sir W. Rider, Mr. Cutler, and Captain Cocke, for 500 ton of hempe, which we went through, and I am to draw up the conditions. Home to dinner, and then with the last chest of crusados to Alderman Backwell's, by the same token his lady going to take coach stood in the shop, and having a gilded glassfull of perfumed comfits given her by Don Duarte de Silva, the Portugall merchant, that is come over with the Queene, I did offer at a taste, and so she poured some out into my hand, and, though good, yet pleased me the better coming from a pretty lady. So home and at the office preparing papers and things, and indeed my head has not been so full of business a great while, and with so much pleasure, for I begin to see the pleasure it gives. God give me health. So to bed.

20th. Up by four or five o'clock, and to the office, and there drew up the agreement between the King and Sir John Winter¹ about the Forrest of Deane; and having done it, he came himself (I did not know him to be the Queene's Secretary before, but observed him to be a man of fine parts); and we read it, and both liked it well. That done, I turned to the Forrest of Deane, in Speede's Mapps, and there he showed me how it lies; and the Lea-bayly, with the great charge of carrying it to Lydney, and many other things worth my knowing; and I do perceive that I am very short in my business by not knowing many times the geographical part of my business.

I went to the Exchange, and I hear that the merchants have a great fear of a breach with the Spaniard; for they think he will not brook our having Tangier, Dunkirke, and Jamaica; and our merchants begin

¹ Secretary and Chancellor to the Queen Dowager.

to draw home their estates as fast as they can. Then to Pope's Head Alley, and there bought me a pair of tweezers, cost me 14s., the first thing like a bawble I have bought a good while, but I do it with some trouble of mind, though my conscience tells me that I do it with an apprehension of service in my office to have a book to write memorandums in, and a pair of compasses in it ; but I confess myself the willinger to do it because I perceive by my accounts that I shall be better by 30*l*. than I expected to be. In the evening, my wife and I and Jane over the water to the Halfway-house, a pretty, pleasant walk, but the wind high.

21st. Up about four o'clock, and to the office to prepare things for our meeting to-day. By and by we met and at noon, Sir W. Pen and I to the Trinity House ; where was a feast made by the Wardens. Great good cheer, and much but ordinary company. The Lieutenant of the Tower, upon my demanding how Sir H. Vane died, told me that he died in a passion ; but all confess with so much courage as never man died. So home, and there found Mr. Creed, who staid talking with my wife and me an hour or two, and I put on my riding cloth suit, only for him to see how it is, and I think it will do very well. He being gone, and I hearing from my wife and the mayds complaints made of the boy, I called him up, and with my whip did whip him till I was not able to stir, and yet I could not make him confess any of the lies that they tax him with. At last, not willing to let him go away a conqueror, I took him in task again, and pulled off his frock to his shirt, and whipped him till he did confess that he did drink the whey, which he had denied, and pulled a pinke, and above all did lay the candlesticke upon the ground in his chamber, which he had denied this quarter of a year. I confess it is one of the greatest

wonders that ever I met with that such a little boy as he could possibly be able to suffer half so much as he did to maintain a lie. I think I must be forced to put him away. So to bed, with my arm very weary.

22nd (Lord's day). This day I first put on my slasht doublet, which I like very well. To the Wardrobe. By and by my Lord came from church, and I dined, with some others, with him, he very merry, and after dinner took me aside and talked of state and other matters. So home. My wife and I to walk in the garden, where all our talk was against Sir W. Pen, against whom I have lately had cause to be much prejudiced. By and by he and his daughter came out to walke, so we took no notice of them a great while, at last in going home spoke a word or two, and so good night, and to bed. This day I am told of a Portugall lady, at Hampton Court, that hath dropped a child already since the Queene's coming, but the King would not have them searched whose it is; and so it is not commonly known yet. Coming home to-night, I met with Will. Swan, who do talk as high for the Fanatiques as ever he did in his life; and do pity my Lord Sandwich and me that we should be given up to the wickedness of the world; and that a fall is coming upon us all; for he finds that he and his company are the true spirit of the nation, and the greater part of the nation too, who will have liberty of conscience in spite of this "Act of Uniformity," or they will die; and if they may not preach abroad, they will preach in their own houses. He told me that certainly Sir H. Vane must be gone to Heaven, for he died as much a martyr and saint as ever man did; and that the King hath lost more by that man's death, than he will get again a good while. At all which I know not what to think; but, I confess, I do think that the Bishops will never be able to carry it so high as they do.

23rd. Up early this morning, and to my office, and there hard at work all the morning. Meeting with Frank Moore, my Lord Lambeth's man formerly, we, and two or three friends of his did go to a tavern, and there they drank, but I nothing but small beer. In the next room one was playing very finely of the dulcimer, which well played I like well, but one of our own company, a talking fellow, did in discourse say much of this Act against Seamen, for their being brought to account; and that it was made on purpose for my Lord Sandwich, who was in debt 100,000*l.* and hath been forced to have pardon oftentimes from Oliver for the same: at which I was vexed at him, but thought it not worth my trouble to oppose what he said, but took leave and went home, and after a little dinner to my office again, and in the evening Sir W. Warren came to me about business, and that being done, discoursing of deales, I did offer to go along with him among his deale ships, which we did to half a score, where he showed me the difference between Dram, Swinsound, Christiania, and others, and told me many pleasant notions concerning their manner of cutting and sawing them by watermills, and the reason how deales become dearer and cheaper, among others, when the snow is not so great as to fill up the vallies that they may pass from hill to hill over the snow, then it is dear carriage. From on board he took me to his yarde, where vast and many places of deales, sparrs, and bulks, &c., the difference between which I never knew before, and indeed am very proud of this evening's work. He had me into his house, which is most pretty and neat and well furnished. After a glass, not of wine, for I would not be tempted to drink any, but a glass of mum, I well home by water, but it being late was forced to land at the Custom House, and so home and to bed, and after I was

a-bed, letters came from the Duke for the fitting out of four ships forthwith from Portsmouth (I know not yet for what) so I was forced to make Will get them wrote, and signed them in bed and sent them away by express.

24th (Midsummer day). Up early and to my office, putting things in order against we sit. There came to me my cozen Harry Alcocke, whom I much respect, to desire (by a letter from my father to me, where he had been some days) my helpe for him to some place. I proposed the sea to him, and I think he will take it, and I hope do well. Sat all the morning, and I bless God I find that by my diligence of late and still, I do get ground in the office every day. At noon to the Change, where I begin to be known also, and so home to dinner, and then to the office all the afternoon dispatching business. At night news is brought me that Field the rogue hath this day cast me at Guildhall in 30*l*. for his imprisonment, to which I signed his commitment with the rest of the officers; but they having been parliament-men, he do begin the law with me; but threatens more, but I hope the Duke of York will bear me out. At night home, and Mr. Spong came to me, and so he and I sat singing upon the leades till almost ten at night, and so he went away (a pretty, harmless, and ingenious man), and I to bed, in a very great content of mind, which I hope by my care still in my business will continue to me.

25th. Up by four o'clock, and put my accounts with my Lord into a very good order, and so to my office, and then to the Wardrobe, and into Thames Street, beyond the Bridge, and there enquired among the shops the price of tarre and oyle, and do find great content in it, and hope to save the King money by this practice.

26th. To the office, and there all the morning

sitting till noon, and then took Commissioner Pett home to dinner with me. He being gone, comes Mr. Nicholson,¹ my old fellow-student at Magdalen, and we played three or four things upon the violin and basse, and so parted, and I to my office till night.

27th. To my Lord, who rose as soon as he heard I was there; and in his night-gowne and shirt stood talking with me alone two hours, I believe, concerning his greatest matters of state and interest.—Among other things, that his greatest design is, first, to get clear of all debts to the King for the Embassy money, and then a pardon. Then, to get his land settled; and then to discourse and advise what is best for him, whether to keep his sea employment longer or no. For he do discern that the Duke would be willing to have him out, and that by Coventry's means. And here he told me, how the terms at Argier² were wholly his; and that he did plainly tell Lawson and agree with him, that he would have the honour of them, if they should ever be agreed to; and that accordingly they did come over hither entitled, "Articles concluded on by Sir J. Lawson, according to instructions received from His Royal Highness James Duke of York, &c. and from His Excellency the Earle of Sandwich." (Which however was more than needed; but Lawson tells my Lord in his letter, that it was not he, but the Council of Warr that would have "His Royal Highness" put into the title, though he did not contribute one word to it.) But the Duke of York did yesterday propose them to the Council, to be printed with this title: "Concluded on by Sir J. Lawson, Knt." and my Lord quite left out. Here I find my Lord very politique; for he tells me,

¹ Thomas Nicholson, A.M., 1672.

² Algiers. (M. B.)

that he discerns they design to set up Lawson as much as they can : and that he do counterplot them by setting him up higher still ; by which they will find themselves spoiled of their design, and at last grow jealous of Lawson. This he told me with much pleasure ; and that several of the Duke's servants, by name my Lord Barkeley, Mr. Talbot, and others, had complained to my Lord, of Coventry, and would have him out. My Lord do acknowledge that his greatest obstacle is Coventry. He did seem to hint such a question as this : " Hitherto I have been supported by the King and Chancellor against the Duke ; but what if it should come about, that it should be the Duke and Chancellor against the King ; " which, though he said it in these plain words, yet I could not fully understand it ; but may more hereafter. My Lord did also tell me, that the Duke himself at Portsmouth did thank my Lord for all his pains and care ; and that he perceived it must be the old Captains that must do the business ; and that the new ones would spoil all. And that my Lord did very discreetly tell the Duke (though quite against his judgement and inclination), that, however, the King's new captaines ought to be borne with a little and encouraged. By which he will oblige that party, and prevent, as much as may be, their envy ; but he says that certainly things will go to rack if ever the old captains should be wholly out, and the new ones only command. Then we fell to talk of Sir J. Minnes, of whom my Lord hath a very slight opinion, and that at first he did come to my Lord very displeased and sullen, and had studied and turned over all his books to see whether it had ever been that two flags should ride together in the main-top, but could not find it, nay, he did call his captains on board to consult them. So when

he came by my Lord's side, he took down his flag, and all the day did not hoist it again, but next day my Lord did tell him that it was not so fit to ride without a flag, and therefore told him that he should wear it in the fore-top, for it seems my Lord saw his instructions, which were that he should not wear his flag in the maintop in the presence of the Duke or my Lord. But that after that my Lord did caresse him, and he do believe him as much his friend as his interest will let him; and so I parted, and to my office, where I met Sir W. Pen, and he desired a turne with me in the garden, where he told me the day now was fixed for his going into Ireland; and that whereas I had mentioned some service he could do a friend of mine there, Saml. Pepys,¹ he told me he would most readily do what I would command him, and then told me we must needs eat a dish of meat together before he went, and so invited me and my wife on Sunday next. To all which I did give a cold consent, for my heart cannot love or have a good opinion of him since his last playing the knave with me, but he took no notice of our difference at all, nor I to him, and so parted, and I by water to Deptford, where I found Sir W. Batten alone paying off the yarde three quarters pay. Thence to dinner where too great a one was prepared, at which I was very much troubled, and wished I had not been there. After dinner comes Sir J. Minnes and some captains with him, who had been at a Councill of Warr to-day, who tell us they have acquitted Captain Hall, who was accused of cowardice in letting of old Winter, the Argier pyrate, go away from him with a prize or two; and also Captain Diamond of the murder laid to him of a man that he had struck, but he lived many months after, till being drunk, he fell

¹ Mentioned elsewhere as "My cousin in Ireland."

into the hold, and there broke his jawe and died. To the pay again, where I left them, and walked to Redriffe, and so home.

28th. Up to my Lord's and my own accounts, and so to the office, and there again all the afternoon till night, and so home. This day a genteel woman came to me, claiming kindred of me, as she had once done before, and borrowed 10s. of me promising to repay it at night, but I hear nothing of her. I shall trust her no more. Great talk there is of a fear of a war with the Dutch; and we have order to pitch upon twenty ships to be forthwith set out; but I hope it is but a scare-crow to the world, to let them see that we can be ready for them; though, God knows! the King is not able to set out five ships at this present without great difficulty, we neither having money, credit, nor stores. My mind is now in a wonderful condition of quiet and content, more than ever in all my life, since my minding the business of my office, which I have done most constantly; and I find it to be the very effect of my late oathes against wine and play, which, if God please, I will keep constant in, for now my business is a delight to me, and brings me great credit, and my purse encreases too.

29th (Lord's day). Up by four o'clock, and to the settling of my own accounts, and I do find upon my monthly ballance that I am worth 650*l.*, the greatest sum that ever I was yet master of. I pray God give me a thankfull spirit, and care to improve and encrease it. To church with my wife, who this day put on her green petticoate of flowred satin, with fine white and gimp lace of her own putting on, which is very pretty. Home with Sir W. Pen to dinner by appointment, and to church again in the afternoon, and then home, and in the evening to supper again to Sir W. Pen. Whatever the matter is, he do

much fawne upon me, and I perceive would not fall out with me, and his daughter mighty officious to my wife, but I shall never be deceived again by him, but do hate him and his traitorous tricks with all my heart. It was an invitation in order to his taking leave of us to-day, he being to go for Ireland in a few days.

30th. Up betimes, and to my office where I fell upon boring holes for me to see from my closet into the great office, without going forth, wherein I please myself much. So settled to business, and at noon with my wife to the Wardrobe, and there dined, and staid talking all the afternoon with my Lord, and about four o'clock took coach with my wife and Lady, and went toward my house, calling at my Lady Carteret's, who was within by chance, and so we sat with her a little. Among other things told my Lady how my Lady Fanshaw¹ is fallen out with her only for speaking in behalf of the French, which my Lady wonders at, they having been formerly like sisters, but we see there is no true lasting friendship in the world. Thence to my house, where I took great pride to lead her through the Court by the hand, she being very fine, and her page carrying up her train. She staid a little at my house, and then walked through the garden, and took water, and went first on board the King's pleasure boat, which pleased her much. Then to Greenwich Parke; and with much ado she was able to walk up to the top of the hill, and so down again, and took boat, and so through bridge to Blackfryers, and home, she being much pleased with the ramble in every particular of it. So we supped with her, and then walked home, and to bed.

¹ Anne, daughter of Sir John Harrison, wife of Sir Richard Fanshawe. She wrote *Memoirs of her life*.—*Vide Seward's Anecdotes*.

OBSERVATIONS.

This I take to be as bad a juncture as ever I observed. The King and his new Queene minding their pleasures at Hampton Court. All people discontented ; some that the King do not gratify them enough ; and the others, Fanatiques of all sorts, that the King do take away their liberty of conscience ; and the height of the Bishops, who I fear will ruin all again. They do much cry up the manner of Sir H. Vane's death, and he deserves it. They clamour against the chimney-money, and the people say, they will not pay it without force. And in the mean time, like to have war abroad ; and Portugall to assist, when we have not money to pay for any ordinary layings-out at home. Myself all in dirt about building of my house and Sir W. Batten's a story higher. Into a good way, fallen on minding my business and saving money, which God encrease ; and I do take great delight in it, and see the benefit of it. In a longing mind of going to see Brampton, but cannot get three days time, do what I can. In very good health, my wife and myself.



LIST OF PRINCIPAL MISTAKES IN FORMER EDITIONS.

PAGE	LINE		FOR		READ
2	18	certain .	.	.	uncertain.
6	2	note .	.	.	vote.
7	10	President	.	.	Prince's.
9	10	as .	.	.	us.
9	32	opposition	.	.	apposition.
10	13	rights .	.	.	virtue.
10	23	what .	.	.	when.
13	21	he .	.	.	high.

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
17	28	prosperity . . .	propriety, <i>i. e.</i> property (see note, Jan. 14th).
25	19	a . . .	two.
44	7	time . . .	view.
65	26	forth with Goods to .	forthwith into.
66	14	ready . . .	void.
68	3	upon . . .	against.
100	3	latter . . .	letter.
102	10	can . . .	must.
115	12	who . . .	that he.
117	20	10 th . . .	16 th .
119	8	Scout . . .	schuit (see note).
126	3	sea . . .	see.
126	22	giving . . .	going.
129	21	body's . . .	boy's.
133	35	valour . . .	virtue.
138	4	yet . . .	you.
140	18	Presidents . . .	President.
141	25	brigs . . .	bridge.
144	16	favours . . .	families.
147	34	charges . . .	changes.
155	12	spoiled . . .	bedaggled.
164	27	pictures . . .	pewter.
168	26	felt . . .	am full.
204	24	Rooker . . .	Booker.
208	24	crosses . . .	bosses.
208	36	me . . .	merry.
217	4	£50 . . .	£100.
220	2	made . . .	bade.
233	28	takes . . .	enters.
236	14	Hardwick . . .	Stradwick.
241	12	stir . . .	stories.
242	14	their . . .	the.
245	10	West . . .	Wett.
246	10	her . . .	two.
248	31	1 st 0 ^d . . .	1 st 6 ^d .
258	13	love . . .	use.
273	25	was . . .	saw.
279	8	curious . . .	envious
289	1	wine . . .	mum.
290	5	wand . . .	mond.
291	34	To which . . .	At last.
302	11	an hour . . .	a turn.
308	5	merry . . .	mere.
316	13	presently . . .	pleasantly.
323	1	my aunt . . .	two men.

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
324	12	past home . . .	Portholme.
336	14	now . . .	more.
345	17	but . . .	man.
360	24	ranted . . .	vaunted.
365	5	Hardy . . .	Harvy.
365	7	high . . .	good.
368	15	Paynter . . .	Pargiter.
371	10	King's . . .	Ringo.
381	7	4 ^s of . . .	40 ^s to.
382	3	surveys . . .	secresys.
382	8	Songs . . .	Torys.
383	3	one M ^r . Parker . . .	of one M ^r . Parker's.
387	12	have made . . .	shall make.
392	20	Washeall and bowle . . .	washeall-bowle.
394	33	Portsmouth . . .	Portugall.
395	3	neck . . .	nose.
397	12	. . .	omit 'half.'
406	3	went . . .	sent.
409	7	day . . .	do.
410	18	upon . . .	up to.
418	34	and . . .	bade.
419	35	speed . . .	spend.
421	12	Surgeon . . .	Serjeant.
425	15	prepared . . .	repaired.
427	19	that . . .	but.
427	22	King's peace . . .	King pays.
433	35	Lord . . .	Lady.
450	22	Mistress . . .	Master.
451	8	full of . . .	fall to.
451	26	well . . .	still.
454	16	for ever, . . .	however.
472	34	ships . . .	shops.
474	16	several . . .	these.
477	17	Lady (Carteret) . . .	Lady, <i>i. e.</i> Sandwich.

END OF VOL. I.

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